

**COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION:  
STRUCTURAL INFLUENCES AND ACTORS'  
PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION  
IN THE USA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines undergraduate international education in the USA and the EC. It establishes that significant differences in international education do exist in the two areas, then goes on to pose two related questions in explanation: how do they differ and why do they differ? A dual explanatory approach is explicitly engaged throughout, one emphasising macro-level factors, the other stressing micro-level perspectives. A preliminary discussion of these two explanatory modes appears in Chapter One, together with an argument for the significance of the topic beyond its educational ramifications.

In Chapter Two, the range of meanings attached to 'international' is applied to international education. This is followed by a review of salient developments in both practice and research into tertiary level international education.

Chapters Three and Four illustrate how and why regional variations in international education arise, building a detailed picture of the themes and modes of advocacy characteristic of each region. Both chapters adopt a structural analysis emphasising social, cultural, and political factors.

The second explanatory approach is deployed in Chapter Five, where similarities and differences in international education are explored from an institutional perspective. Case studies are used to show the extent to which actors' accounts of institutional developments in international education reflect the themes anchored in a macro-level or structural framework. The evidence suggests that intermediate and institutional agendas have equal heuristic potential in accounting for variations in international education.

Focusing on institutional perspectives and local accounts of international education grounds the macro-level analysis of regional differences and continuities; a mid-range explanatory approach is thus suggested in Chapter Six.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: SETTING THE AGENDA

#### Aims

The two main objectives of this thesis are to establish that differences exist between US and European international education and to offer an account for those differences.

This chapter has an agenda-setting function incorporating four main aims. It defines international education as investigated in this thesis, and establishes its significance as a research topic. It then indicates, through comparison, the existence of significant differences between US and European patterns in international education. Thirdly, it juxtaposes two broad accounts for such differentiation and argues that a synthesis offers a complex understanding of the phenomenon. Lastly, the overall structure of the thesis is outlined.

There are four sections to the Chapter. Part One deals with the focus of investigation - international education - in broad terms. The second sketches the basic regional differences between US and European international education. Part Three sets out the argument and Part Four outlines the structure of the thesis.

#### Part One - The Focus of the Investigation

The task of this thesis is to investigate how and why there are differences between European and U.S. undergraduate international education (1). International education is understood to occur whenever a transnational dimension is intentionally incorporated into the major facets of activity of educational institutions. The areas of activity can have



cognitive, physical and organisational dimensions; the effects therefore have curricular, research, student, faculty and administrative manifestations. The thesis is particularly, but not exclusively, sensitive to the student mobility aspects of international education. Such a definition allows for the probability that international education will also generate subjective definitions from such practitioners as teachers, administrators, students, or allocative authorities (2).

The thesis will establish the existence of significant regional differences in the patterns of international education development in the US and Europe and the purposes towards which it is oriented. The argument is comparative; comparisons pinpoint differences and analysis suggests causal explanations for these differences (3).

International education is significant in four dimensions. First, it has been transformed from a rather insubstantial, often maverick, educational phenomenon associated with idealism and utopian social thought, into a more conventional aspect of national systems of education. Second, and as a consequence of the first, it has expanded in scale. More attention is paid to it, greater numbers are engaged in it and more resources are channelled into it than at any previous time (4). Third, international education constitutes a sub-section (though a remarkably under-investigated one) of those aspects of globalisation theory which explore trends towards an international social order (5). Fourth, as this thesis will demonstrate with reference to the US and the EC, the existence of international education is linked to 'local' considerations. It is created for different reasons, is

directed toward different ends and varies in orientation and content.

For these reasons alone, international education merits closer scrutiny, but it is also the case that the explanations offered for the causes and consequences of such differentiation constitute an interesting essay in comparative social theory. Quite beyond personal reasons for embarking on this research (6), it is clear that the phenomenon of international education has been under-analysed, and that there are few explanations of why definitions and practices in international education alter from context to context (7).

#### Part Two - US and European International Education: Differing Pasts and Presents

This section sketches the differences in origin and subsequent development of international education in Europe and the US. (The causal argument that accounts for differences in orientation, growth rates and outcomes is further developed in Part Two).

In the United States the interest and activity in international education has grown steadily since the late 1940s. Demand for international education comes from foundations, public and private colleges, State governments, professional associations, the business and corporate lobby, faculty, administrators and students themselves. The federal authorities display various degrees of interest in international education, some rhetorical and some resulting in framework legislation and the partial funding of a few key programmes (8).

In Europe, both interest and activity have grown more recently. Although market forces have recently become more

prominent, the public-sector dominated higher education systems of Europe, with their greater emphasis on specialisation and professional qualifications, have meant that international education had less clarity of purpose and less opportunity to thrive. Latterly, the European Community has raised the profile of international education through such student and faculty mobility schemes as COMETT, TEMPUS and ERASMUS designed to enhance the infrastructure of an economically and socially integrated Europe.

Given that the main source of policy and provision in undergraduate international education is the European Community, this thesis views European international education primarily as a product of EC policies and practice. The comparison made in the thesis is therefore between US and EC patterns of international education.

Comparison of the two historical regional patterns of international education brings other differences into focus. The processes and outcomes, too, are different. American students are exposed to international education more as a *curricular* phenomenon than their European counterparts (9). Although both utilise student mobility (study abroad), the aims, significance and position of this mobility within the overall programme of study differ. Undergraduate-level international education on the American pattern embraces a curricular and a student mobility focus related to US concerns for competitive advantage in the global economy. In Europe, international education has "taken off" primarily through a student mobility programme aimed at inter-institutional co-operation as part of the ongoing regional integration project.

American international education has become an extensive and prominent activity, resulting in American practice becoming both well-articulated and influential beyond the USA (10). The sheer volume of American material on international education, combined with the position of the United States as a global superpower for much of the latter half of the twentieth century, has contributed to the salience of the US model. By and large, American concepts of international education seem to reflect the liberal arts orientation of undergraduate curricula, and tend to be more overtly responsive to the 'national interest' imperative (11). In comparison with European practice, the US is more market-oriented and less coordinated in policy terms. As a result, the politics of international education are more visible and public, due to the need to attract funds from public and private sectors, foundations and corporations. The international education lobby in Europe is less developed than in the US, and operates differently (12).

Paradoxically, although European awareness of and commitment to international education seemed minimal compared with the high profile and volume of US activity in the field, it was in Europe that the first large-scale, organised and subsidised mobility schemes appeared, capturing the imagination of educationists and politicians. Until the imminence of the Single European Act stimulated greater interest in it, international education, particularly in Britain, had often been associated with development education and the more utopian reaches of thinking on international affairs such as pacifism and world citizenship (Heater; Hicks & Townley). EC initiatives in international education have redefined the

discourse of European international education, giving it a regionalist, integrative focus.

### Part Three - The Causes of Regional Differentiation:

#### Structural and Action-oriented Arguments

This thesis asserts that international education is not a *sui generis* phenomenon unrelated to historical and political conceptions of 'international'. Thus it must be seen as (i) both an indicator of, and an agent in, the growing interdependence of states, economies, politics and cultures, (13), and

(ii) a reflection of regional histories, strategic interests, political projects and social institutions.

Consequently, the thesis treats international education as a historical and social phenomenon and does not focus on the internal *educational* discourse embedded in curriculum and classroom concerns. However, the views of people in educational institutions remain of critical importance, not just because they too perceive international education as an activity influenced by structural forces, but because both they and their institutions have their own reasons for involvement in international education.

In accounting for the significance of regional variations in international education, the argument acknowledges that seeking to understand both universality and differentiation in international education solely in terms of such macro-level forces as history, society, culture, is not satisfactory. Although it might be convenient to argue that locus alone constitutes an adequate explanation, such an argument would ignore the fact that developments in international education theory and practice are also traceable to

the activities and efforts of individuals working in higher education institutions.

This thesis argues that international education is brought into being and differentiated according to *both* historical and structural factors *and* institutional and individual interests and strategies. The accounts rendered by key actors engaged in international educational activities have to be included in any consideration of the causes of differentiation.

Thus, the thesis argues that differences in US and European variants of international education are best illuminated and explained through the deployment of two levels of analysis. The knitting together of two rather different explanatory perspectives is prompted by the weakness of either of them in isolation.

It is argued that international education arises from both individual and institutional interests, but that it does so in the context of systemic conditions. For example, institutions may adopt international education for reasons of status or recruitment. Individuals may become involved as a result of personal experience, career aspirations and values. Yet such considerations take place in the context of cultural globalisation, the development of a world economy and growing political recognition of interdependence and integration. The two lines of argument can be briefly sketched in order to illustrate their explanatory strengths and weaknesses.

A structuralist account of differences in the character and practice of international education in the US and Europe would start from the position of the US in the postwar world system where, despite some premature obituaries, it retains

strategic, economic and political dominance. Indeed, Susan Strange (1988), argues that far from experiencing hegemonic weakening and relative decline, US authority in the world economy has actually increased, due to American dominance of the transnational business sector (14). This structural position produces a conception of national interest interpreted in terms of competitiveness and competence in the security, production, financial and - most significantly in this context - in what Strange terms the knowledge structures. *Ergo*, the thesis will argue that *to some extent* our understanding of the form and content of American international education must be based on recognition of the underlying structural conditions within which it develops.

An unrefined macro-theoretical account of the expansion of international education would be based on the significant growth of the global economy in the post-war era and the positioning of the US at the centre of this world system. It would conclude that both the earlier appearance and the characteristic orientations of American international education are attributable to this 'nesting'. In the current phase, US international education would be seen as correcting a serious skills deficit occasioned by a powerful combination of earlier isolationism and a forty year run of economic and military "top dogism". In a structuralist analysis, American international education would reflect concern with national interest and the retention of a leading edge in economic and political power. Everything that has occurred from the 1940s to the 1990s would be but a variation on that theme.

Continuing the hypothetical structuralist argument, Europe constitutes a different socio-historical formation and

occupies different terrain in the global political economy. The states of Western Europe have tended to act independently, many of them pursuing separate post-colonial political and economic strategies that impacted to a varying degree on their respective educational systems. More recently these states have embarked, with fluctuating degrees of enthusiasm, upon a regional integration project possessing economic, production, political and knowledge dimensions. These elements reflect the location of Europe within the world order, set the limits and mould the purpose of European international education. Regional economic self-defence in the face of stiff competition from Japan and other Asian NICs and the US, would constitute one of the influences on European international education, while the cognitive mobilisation of future professional and business elites towards a 'People's Europe' would be another. In such a manner a structuralist approach would account for many of the differences between European and US conceptions and practices in international education.

Such structuralist reasoning can, of course, be rendered more complex and conditional. However, structuralist theory ultimately insists that in the final instance structures possess properties that determine sub-structural outcomes. This, after all, constitutes the "healing waters of grand sociological theory" (Mulhall, 26), in which those desirous of such explanations seek immersion.

However, the core problem of explaining differentiation in international education is, in sociological terms, a version of the 'structure-agency' dialectic. How can the behaviour of those responsible for international education be accounted for in a structural framework? How do the key



actors responsible for institutional developments in international education themselves account for their activity? What rationales do they offer when invited to explain why fiscal and human resources should be allocated to international education rather than some other project? To avoid such questions would seriously reduce the exploratory objectives of the thesis.

Alan Dawe posited the existence of 'two sociologies' - one emphasised the ontologically prior properties of social structure (and consequently saw action as a derivative of system), and the other perceived the system as the consequence of social action. Situation within a structure might well be a necessary, if not a sufficient, condition for the explanation of social change, but the alternative sociological paradigm that emphasises the emergent properties of social interaction is an equal contender in accounting for differences in international education. Intermediate factors must interpose themselves between the distant workings of structural forces on a global scale, and the individual subjectivity of international education.

This thesis endorses the view that, in accounting for differences in international education, a balance must be struck that takes into account not only the structurally conditioned or *situated* nature of social action but also leaves room for the complex types of social interaction from which particular forms of education arise. The view that the human element can be moved to the periphery of the research agenda without any serious consequences - a perspective described as "technocratic, even cyclical, not to mention despairing," (Lyotard, 11), is rejected.

It is argued that understanding variations in the concept and practice of undergraduate international education in the EC and the US can best be accomplished by exploring the relationship between two elements that together constitute social reality; complex social structures which shape the context within which interaction and change occur, and complex types of social interaction which give rise to particular forms of education (Archer, 1984, 3). Attention focuses on the interplay of macro (contextual) and micro (institutional) factors, and the structure of the thesis reflects this view.

#### Part Four - Structure of Thesis

The investigation of international education in this thesis takes the following form. Chapter Two explores international education in general terms. Chapters Three and Four take a structural and systemic approach to international education in the US and the EC, and in Chapter Five an institutional and interactionist approach is used.

In establishing the facts of differentiation and exploring the causes of this variability, the thesis will start at the structural level before proceeding to the institutional and interactive dimension, not *vice versa*. To reverse the order would obfuscate the conditional influence exerted by structure over agency. However, before embarking upon the structural part of the argument, the nature and range of meanings embedded in international education require attention. Chapter Two will therefore explore the complexity of the phenomenon in order to produce the range of more sensitive criteria required by this investigation.

Chapter Two explores international education by breaking

down its constituent elements. To comprehend the socially constructed nature of the phenomenon, the chapter draws on insights derived from international relations, the discipline that most determinedly theorises the "international". In developing and extending awareness of the complexities of international education, the chapter also investigates why expansion in the field is channelled more effectively by national rather than international agencies.

Chapters Three and Four identify structural and systemic influences that contribute to differences in the evolution of US and EC international education. To advance the argument, characteristic political and socio-cultural orientations are highlighted, both at the general level of society and polity and at the level of the educational systems themselves. These chapters concentrate on building up a structurally-based account of the circumstances in which American and European international education emerged. Chapter Three reviews trends in US international education since World War Two, before concentrating on the period from the mid-1970s to 1990. Chapter Four parallels this with European material.

Chapter Five shifts the analysis away from the explicitly macro-level, concentrating instead on the role of individual and institutional factors in influencing the nature and amount of international education activity. This chapter is analytically grounded with reference to the dialogue in contemporary sociological theory between Giddens (1979) and Archer (1982b, 1990).

While earlier chapters treat the phenomenon ontologically and structurally, Chapter Five is based on four insti-

tutional case studies. The chapter sets two objectives. The first is to provide the counterpart to the structural emphasis, and is thus part of the general argument of causality in which structure and action are juxtaposed. The second is to show how an *institutional* focus highlights, with particular clarity, the dangers of using a solely structural approach, based on macro factors, to account for differences in international education (15).

The *origins* of educational innovation and change may be widespread and difficult to identify, but the "actual process of innovation is localised and specific," (Becher & Kogan, 1980, 121). Chapter Five therefore deals with how key institutional actors perceive changes in the external and internal environment before and after they initiate programmes in international education. Innovation can be seen as the management of the interaction between the external dimensions that influence the whole process and the internal institutional actions, (Per Dalin, 21).

The last chapter argues that current developments (both in terms of continuing differentiation and the convergence of the two patterns of international education) must be interpreted in both structural and interactionist terms.

### Arguments

Drawing upon the framework established in this chapter, three arguments may now be advanced:-

- 1) *that international education, while exhibiting some generic similarities, is susceptible to shifts in orientation and content, and that these shifts are influenced by trends in global and regional relationships;*
- 2) *that the development of regional differences in interna-*

*tional education is not directly dictated by global structuration, but involves such mediating factors as educational sub-systems and the market position of those individual institutions that demonstrate a commitment to international education;*

*3) that regionally distinctive agendas in international education will be only partially echoed by key actors at institutional level whose commitment to international education will be justified with reference to personal and institutional factors as well as external and structural criteria. This suggests that a mid-range theory is needed to account for both the differences in and the motivations for international education in the USA and Europe.*

#### Summary

This chapter indicated why international education should and would be investigated, and raised questions of how and why policies and practices differed between the United States and Europe. It also sought to establish an appropriate level of analysis to illuminate these questions and in the process indicated central theoretical and methodological concerns.

To recapitulate the problem: at the point of delivery, international education seems to vary between different educational and social systems. Clearly, though not uniquely, this is the case in the American and European context. One response is to seek explanation largely in terms of structural, historical and systemic determinants. This research notes the advantages - but also the disadvantages - of such an approach and uses institutionally-based actors to render their own accounts of international education programme development. Analysis will later be offered on the extent to

which plausible accounts of the differences in international education are attributable to systemic agendas or individual and institutional constructions.

The thesis takes two separate approaches in accounting for the growth and differentiation of international education in two areas. It seeks to keep the structural, macro-levels of analysis conceptually distinct from the subjective and micro-levels. Although the world systems level is as necessary as the observation of individual thought and action, the core of the explanation is located where these two axes intersect - in the analysis of groups and institutions.

The first step is to define and circumscribe the phenomenon of international education as it is understood in this research, and this is undertaken in the following chapter.

## Footnotes

(1) "Undergraduate", because although secondary and graduate-level manifestations also exist it is at the undergraduate level that the most visible expansion of the phenomenon, involving the largest number of individuals and institutions has occurred.

(2) For example, when the then Secretary of State for Education, Mr MacGregor, gave a lecture on 'The International Dimensions of Education' he ranged from the usefulness of international statistical comparators to prove that his own policies were successful, through forms of inter-governmental cooperation (Commonwealth-based in this case), to aspects of the National Curriculum and the British take-up rate in ERASMUS. Clearly the Secretary of State's perception of international education differed from that of his first questioner, the General Secretary of the Council for Education in World Citizenship. (October 30th, 1990, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House).

(3) In discussing the difficulties associated with cross-national research, Kohn (1989), pp. 20-24, suggests there are four types of such research; those in which the nation is the *object* of study, those in which it is the *context* of study, those in which it is the *unit of analysis*, and those which are *transnational* in character. Although they shade into one another, their purposes do differ. Generally speaking, this thesis draws upon nation as *context* (how specific social formations and institutions impinge upon a given sphere of activity), and *transnational* perspectives (research in which activity is regarded as part of a larger international system).

(4) A number of sources, many published annually, have traced the increase in international education activity. For the US, the most comprehensive publication is Open Doors, published by the Institute of International Education. European data on student mobility is published by the ERASMUS and COMETT Bureaux and the Commission of the European Communities.

(5) Amongst the more recently published works in this field the following are of particular note: Featherstone (1990), Albrow & King (1990), Luard (1990 a and b), Giddens (1990).

(6) The author's main experience and practice of international education has been in the somewhat unusual context of an institution whose identity and assumptions were largely based upon American patterns but which is located in London. This topicality served to highlight clear and significant differences between American and European international education discourse and practice and was seminal to the project. Even before the development of a European Community

policy on higher education those differences were experienced, and they have been further elaborated as a result of the growth of European student mobility projects such as ERASMUS and COMETT.

Popper proposes that theories of causality always operate within the domain deployed by experience, and Heidegger argues that all scientific and philosophic reflection is preceded by a *prereflective* lived experience of our being-in-the-world; a being which expresses itself in the existential category of "discourse". Reassuringly, Peirce observes that an original personal hypothesis is of scientific significance - especially so because testing by falsification is so difficult in the social sciences where the emphasis is on deductions from the original hypothesis. In his commentary on Peirce, Levi suggests that inductive reasoning seeks to render a verdict as to which of the potential answers identified as worthy of consideration at the abductive stage of inquiry (evaluation of hypotheses as worthy of being entertained as potential answers to the question under investigation) ought to be adopted on the basis of the data of experimentation, and that while there is obviously a distinction between qualitative and quantitative induction, both are relevant. (Levi, Isaac, *Induction as Self-correcting according to Peirce*, in Mellor, D.H. 1980, 127-140).

(7) This general point was established by Margaret Archer, who argued that educational sociologists had failed to deal with educational systems *qua* systems - investigators assuming that the educational system of his/her own country is typical when in fact it is specific. In fact, one of the tendencies of macro-level sociology is to reduce and obscure diversity and causal heterogeneity in favour of establishing generality.

(8) The National Defense Education Act, the Higher Education Act and the Smith-Mundt Act constitute the core of federal legislation touching upon international education.

(9) Meaning that international dimensions of the curriculum receive greater prominence in course design and actual instruction.

(10) The expansion of international education is widespread, with Europe and the USA constituting only two of the many zones of activity. The erstwhile Eastern bloc and Japan are two other areas, with the latter being particularly active. In 1987 15,000 foreign students were studying in Japan (70% from Taiwan, China and Korea), and 20,000 Japanese were studying abroad. Former PM Nakasone set a goal of 100,000 foreign students in Japan by 2001. (IIE International Educational Associate, March/April 1988, 17).

(11) National interest can be defined according to cultural, military, geopolitical, economic or commercial perspectives.



See Knorr & Trager (1977) and Strange (1988).

(12) Kirchner observes that the role that interest groups play as political actors in the European integrative process is contingent upon the speed with which Community-level decision-making centres begin to distribute advantages - and that initially economic interests are more likely to be articulated than those of the 'liberal intellectual and social professions'. (Kirchner, 1980, 95-119). Further consideration of interest groups in the context of European integration will appear in Chapter Four. Also, as Archer points out, educational interest groups are constituted differently and act differently depending on their location within centralised or decentralised systems. (Archer, 1989, 242-262).

(13) Here the perceptions bifurcate: in the parlance of international relations, those adopting the Realist view contend that military and security dimensions and capabilities are the major determinants of the international system, and such people would agree with many educationalists that international education is of marginal significance to the world order. However, it is here argued that complex interdependence based on growing transnational activity in all areas of life (economic, cultural, communications, etc.), encourages an analysis of international education not just as a curricular or pedagogical issue, but as one of a series of institutional adjustments to an emerging international regime. For the basis of such a position, see the arguments advanced in the first two chapters of Susan Strange (1988).

(14) See Strange (1988), particularly chapter 11. However, Wallerstein argues that American successes in the 1980s in "reversing the decline" will be perceived as ephemeral because the *relative decline* of the leading power of any era is, over time, inevitable due to the gradual erosion of the hegemon's overall productivity advantage relative to close rivals. (Wallerstein, 1987).

(15) Skilbeck, (1984) pp. 51-4, for example, takes a tilt at Foucault *et. al.* for reducing everything that happens in the education sector to a mere reflection of the interests of those with a monopoly of power. Archer argues against those who purvey theories of educational growth based upon "facile epiphenomenalism" (Archer, 1982, Ch.1).

## CHAPTER TWO

# MAPPING THE FIELD: CONTEXTS & MEANINGS OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Vague, ambiguous and multifaceted as it must remain, the phrase 'international education' warrants our concern and sustained attention.

(Bailey, quoted in Arum, 1987, 5).

International education is ... uncertain of its aims and its fundamental premises (Bereday & Lauwerys, 1964, xi).

### Objectives

The purpose of this chapter is to prepare the conceptual and analytical ground for the detailed comparison of US and European patterns of international education. To that end, there are four main objectives. The first is to deepen and expand the definition of international education beyond that provided in Chapter One. This leads to the second objective which is to apply this expanded definition so that the comparative structural and institutional approaches to international education may be more sharply focused.

The third objective is to construct a matrix which enables variants of international education to be compared. The fourth objective is to highlight student mobility (study abroad) as a form of international education of particular interest to this thesis.

Overall, the chapter develops criteria by which the variety of forms and characteristics exhibited by the phenomenon may be identified.

### Argument

The chapter seeks to establish that international education is a socially constructed phenomenon that reflects material developments, rather than the result of a free-

floating orientation towards goodwill and universalism. Arguing for this proposition involves three steps. First, the meanings of 'international' are explored. Second, the agencies through which international education has been delivered are investigated. Third, a classificatory model which links different examples of international education to social and political factors is developed.

Part One argues for an exploration of the "international" in international education by deploying elements of international relations theory. The section identifies those elements of international relations discourse that are helpful in the analysis of international education. It suggests that discussions of international education confined to the discourse of education are unduly circumscribed, and that insights into 'international' from other disciplines enhance understanding of the wide range of international education orientation and practice. The application of international relations theory to international education practice allows "education for internationalism", "education for integration", and "education for interdependence" to be distinguished. In turn, this enables distinctions to be made between US and European patterns of international education, as well as within those regional patterns over time.

Part Two argues that international education does not become a significant phenomenon as a result of voluntaristic exercises and universalist ethics. In fact, attempts to expand international education on such a basis are small-scale and prone to failure. Even experience in the delivery of international education by international organisations and institutions has produced very modest results. Instead, the

practice develops in response to very real structural shifts within the world order. It is, to use Susan Strange's terminology, a response in the knowledge sector to changes in the production, finance and security sectors.

The implications of this are that international education cannot be regarded as a phenomenon dependent upon idealism or the efforts of international organisations. Instead it will expand as nation states or regions identify it as a necessary response to shifts in their position in the global political economy, and it will therefore be within national education systems that any expansions of international education will occur in the medium term. Linking the growth of international education to socio-economic and political changes in the world-system establishes the structuralist perspective on the phenomenon. It allows developments in international education to be linked to the influence of groups that represent certain political, economic and cultural interests.

Drawing together the dimensions explored in the earlier sections, and providing a basis for a more sophisticated definition of the phenomenon, the next stage in the argument of this chapter concerns the development of a model of international education. As indicated earlier, the model provides a matrix within which the range of different orientations and manifestations of international education may be plotted.

The argument finally demarcates study abroad as a major field of activity within international education, and establishes it as the primary focus of the research.

Study abroad is highlighted as a form of activity that incorporates a wide range of institutional effects, reflects certain assumptions about curriculum, relates to outside bodies and intrinsically involves other institutions. Because it is activity-oriented it is more visible than subtle shifts in curricular theory. It is obviously "international" in the least problematic sense of physical movement across frontiers. It has a multiplier effect in that the activity of moving students affects nearly every dimension of institutional life. Thus, study abroad clearly embodies for students, faculty and administrators many of the dimensions of international education that this thesis needs to be sensitive to, in order to investigate the existence of varying patterns within different regional practices.

### Structure

To attain the objectives stated at the beginning of the chapter, and to pursue the arguments outlined above, the first part expands the definition of international education.

The second part reviews some of the institutional forms through which it is delivered. In the third part, a model of international education is developed, identifying criteria by which differing international education practices may be compared. The fourth part surveys some of the trends currently affecting research into international education before concluding that study abroad, as a specific category of international education practice, is particularly appropriate to this investigation since US and European policies and practice quite clearly differ in this sector.

All four parts of this chapter involve reviews of relevant literature.

## Part One - Elaborating the "International" in International Education

### Aims

This section reviews the initial definition of international education. It distinguishes between a conceptual and an operational level of understanding and concentrates on the range of meanings that are buried in the *ideational* background. Part Two will explore the *operational* background. The review first places 'international' in a theoretical context, and secondly enhances the understanding of international education by reference to the insights provided by international relations theory.

In particular, it argues for a realist - in other words, structurally grounded - base for the growth of international education in the latter half of the twentieth century. It therefore refutes the notion, so often associated with international education, that it is a morally-based and idealist enterprise.

### Limits of the Definition

In Chapter One it was briefly stated that international education was present wherever a cross-border dimension was deliberately incorporated into the range of activities normally present in institutions of higher education. Such a definition gives rise to a multitude of subsequent questions. For example, how is it possible to differentiate between a conventional degree course in international history, a change in the syllabus of an economics degree to incorporate a new, mandatory, course in international economics, the overseas visits of a senior administrator, a rising proportion of overseas students on campus, the hosting of an

international conference, a regular faculty exchange arrangement, and the development of an integrated degree programme involving universities in three different countries?

Another limitation of the earlier definition is that it excludes international education as a policy issue dealt with by politicians, bureaucrats and corporate employers operating at some distance from educational institutions. In other words, aspects of international education can exist in the political and cultural domains only loosely connected to the education sector.

A more sensitive definition of international education is thus called for, though the complexities cannot be endlessly multiplied to the point where the definition becomes operationally useless. The approach adopted in this section is to stress the conceptual dimensions of international education. The first phase of this approach pays attention to the range of meanings attached to 'international'.

#### A Consideration of "International"

An analysis of the differences in international education must first consider the meanings attached to 'international', since the use of this adjective draws one into a web of implicit and explicit meanings (1). Advocates for international education use 'international' in particular ways, sometimes descriptive and sometimes normative. An important aspect of international relates to the way in which it is used to describe both a fact and a desirable objective. Hence internationalism - the perception of, and orientation towards, an international order - stretches between utopian-idealist and functionalist-realist poles (2).

Michael Mann has identified two versions of internationalism, suggesting a 'banker's version' and a traditional liberal left interpretation (Mann, 1983). The dominant, banker's form, owes its pre-eminence to the alliance of the USA and international capital (Mann, 1987) with a conservative economic philosophy stressing the primacy of markets and profits, (Mann, 196), (3).

The other, liberal left, version of internationalism, "has the air of tired rhetoric about it" (Mann, 200), but could be reclaimed by the left, meaning that political rather than market interests should dominate the international political economy. This view is similar to Wallerstein's (4).

Mann's and Wallerstein's understanding of international is thus closely linked to the development of a global capitalist economy. The social, political, and - ultimately - educational responses to this particular world economy provide a context for the emergence of international education of a certain type at a given time.

The thrust of their argument, and that of this thesis, is that the process of internationalisation and the shrinking of the sphere of national autonomy have occurred as a result of the interplay of material, economic and political factors, rather than as a product of the ideas and ideals of cooperation, tolerance and mutual understanding. As so often seems the case, the cultural and intellectual realm lagged behind events themselves: "no period of human history has been fully comprehended by the people actually experiencing it...mental fossilization is particularly evident in the term 'international'," (Becker & Mehlinger, 2).

Bull and Watson (1984) conceive of international society



as comprising a group of states which not only form a system in the sense that the behaviour of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of others, but which have also established common rules and institutions by dialogue and consent. Thus "realism" suggests that the basis for internationalism is a functional one rooted in definitions of self interest. The international order that emerges, results from "real" economic and political factors, though these clearly possess a cultural dimension (Robins, 1990).

Part of the argument of this chapter is that in the twentieth century, the growth of a more international world order in itself causes increased amounts of international education to be supplied. Recent growth in international education arises, not from idealist and utopian internationalism, but rather as a response to structural and systemic - 'realist' - developments. However, even with an evolving international world order, it is erroneous to assume that this inevitably leads to a "globalised" consciousness. Donelan's (1982) argument can be used to critique idealist explanations for international education.

Donelan has attempted to explain the gap between the increasing information on such global issues as poverty, starvation, and environmental damage, and the stubborn persistence of traditional political organisation of the world in nation states.

Instead of adopting a global outlook and accepting international imperatives, people continue to cling to their country as their only community. Donelan suggests that idealist arguments jump too quickly from facts to solutions

without a bridging moral and political philosophy. While most would concede that there is a global food problem, people in affluent industrialised societies perceive no personal difficulties with food other than those relating to abundance. The problem in developing a consciousness of community with common problems rests on the aggregation of two fallacies - an intellectual and a sentimental one.

Economists have long used the concept of 'the world economy' to describe the myriad actions, interactions and interdependencies of all men in the whole world. It is easy with a bit of enthusiasm to make an aggregate out of this, to see the world economy as a joint action by all men, a common enterprise of a community of mankind. But why should ordinary men...think like this? As with the common problems, so with the solutions, sentimental aggregation takes the place of reasoning...but this goodwill, intellectualist, scientific, planetary engineering approach to world affairs ignores political experience. (Donelan, 144-5)

Self-interest may well be more compelling than altruism, but at best it can only lead to reluctant, minimal collaboration. In other words, acceptance of 'international' as a framework for organising and delivering education on a large scale within the context of nation states is unlikely to rest on notions of how the world *ought* to be seen. Material, system-oriented, or "realist" arguments provide more convincing explanations for the growth of international education than morally-based ones. In turn, such arguments must be based on a clear understanding of the nature of 'international'.

The growth of a more international world order is interpreted differently by various schools of thought within international relations, where the most focused debates take place over the meanings of 'international'. Within international relations, distinctions are made between the real and

ideal dimensions of international. The insights afforded by that discipline will now be considered.

There exist two broad schools of thought in international relations on the consequences of an increasingly international world order - those focused on integration, and those focused on interdependence. Where relevant to the analysis of international education, the differences of interpretation within each of the two categories will be reviewed. The categories, though related, will be subjected to separate scrutiny.

The integration - interdependence polarity has considerable significance for the comparison of US and EC practice in international education. Chapters Three and Four will demonstrate that the US is informed to a greater extent by the consciousness of interdependence, and the EC by the awareness of a need for greater integration.

a) Integration

Groom and Heraclides (1985) warn that the literature on integration deals with very disparate phenomena, ranging from regionalism, federalism, and 'one world' issues such as development and the environment, all the way to interdependence itself. Questions regarding the salient dynamics of integration - what pressurises actors towards greater integration - vary according to the theoretical perspective of the investigator.

Two major schools of thought are outlined by commentators (Taylor, 1975, 1983; Abi-Saab, 1981) - functionalism and neo-functionalism. Although there is considerable overlap, each approach offers a different understanding of the

motivation for, and consequences of, international education within the context of a developing international world order.

Functionalists emphasise the development of a socio-psychological community, and view ties of mutual identity, loyalty and affection as the building-blocks of integration. To use Tönnies' concept of *Gemeinschaft*, functionalists stress an underlying sense of social homogeneity and consensus resting on shared loyalties. Functionalists doubt whether 'governments' or 'nation states' are useful concepts in understanding the trend towards greater regional or global integration. They maintain that formal, constitutionalist world federalists start from the wrong end by targetting the nation state's most sensitive issues, sovereignty and security. Instead, they stress 'task-oriented cooperative activities', suggesting that certain technical, economic and social problems are best solved through international cooperation. In time, they argue, it will be seen that some needs can be better satisfied at the international than at the national level (Abi-Saab, 18).

The functionalist argument suggests that the building of a socio-psychological community precedes the transcendence of the nation state. In contrast with neo-functionalism, this process has no clearly defined goal or end. Instead the process generates a series of relationships which result in cross-cutting loyalties to both national and international entities. In turn, these lead to a more peaceful, integrated system (5).

Neo-functionalist arguments take a different approach to integration. Prompted in part by such setbacks to European integration as de Gaulle's "Europe des Patries", they put

greater stress on the empirical study of specific instances of integration. They suggest that integration is less the result of social consensus and more the result of the successful development of supra-national institutions through which contending interest groups come to agreement. They accord a central role to the part that interest groups play in the processes of integration. Hence, in the European context, the gradual growth in the number of educators in institutions whose activities benefit from Community support would constitute the basis of an interest group that perceives advantages in regional groupings (6).

This stance draws heavily on the analogy of national government in interpreting the process of integration, and its sociological underpinning comes from the other part of Tönnies' dualism - *Gesellschaft*. This concept is based on a model of society of competing interests that can coexist due to an underlying agreement about the rules of the game. Unlike the functionalist assumption that integration must be grounded upon consensus-building, the dominant assumption here is that integration comes about when competitive pressures are harnessed to that end.

In this perspective, elites and interest groups have a special role to play, rather than the general consensus stressed by functionalists. The main motor of integration is to be found in institutions and in the changing behaviour of the elites that govern these institutions. Haas makes this clear in his definition of integration: "the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, ties, expectations, and

political activities towards a new and larger setting," (Haas, 1968, 16).

The element of *process* is again of pivotal importance.

Through the growth in international cooperation, a "spill-over" effect is created. This is a product of the mode of accommodation whereby lower modes of decision-making begin to spill over into higher modes, thus ending up with political community. As a correlate, integration in more and more salient areas is effected.

Actors playing specific roles within organisations dealing with - in the educational sense - international agencies or foreign colleges, will experience spill-over in the sense that integrative lessons learned in one functional context will be applied in others. Equally important to the process is the "gradual politicization of the actors' purposes which were initially considered 'technical' or 'noncontroversial.'" (Haas, quoted in Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff, 431).

The expansive, ripple-like logic of integration is referred to as *engrenage*, and serves to highlight the neo-functional belief in the necessity of both a *procedural* consensus and *political will* if the integration process is to be successful. Whereas the functionalists place their emphasis on a widespread psychological sense of community, and the necessity of building effective integration upon the support of the citizenry, the neo-functionalists stress technical efficacy and the psychological dispositions of elites (7).

Functionalism suggests that a more integrated world order will come about for organic reasons, whereas neo-functionalists see a similar end being attained by the activities of interest groups and elites - a more deliberate-

ly politicised process. The significance of these approaches for international education is that the functionalist view of international education will see it as emerging from, and contributing to the building of this consensus, whereas the neo-functionalist perspective will focus attention on the mechanics of cooperation as experienced by influential and strategically placed groups of experts.

A third view of the processes of integration comes from the transactionalist school, associated with Deutsch's work (1954, 1988). This stresses the development of an integrated economic and social infrastructure of the international community by focusing on the rapid growth in the range of transactions between states that are made between non-state actors. Deutsch and his associates, using a methodology known as transaction flow analysis, log such items as telecommunications contacts, passenger miles, tourism, and business trips. In the context of this research, this would include study abroad and faculty exchange.

#### b) Interdependence

The previous section explored integration as one tendency encompassed by 'international'. This section offers another interpretation, that of interdependence. There is much disagreement between scholars over the essential features of interdependence. The debate centres on differing interpretations of the emergent world system. To what extent does it constitute a global *society*, is the international system predominantly state-centric, is there greater interdependence, and can it really be categorised as a system? Realists argue that patterns of interdependence are periphe-

ral to the continuing major dynamic of the world system - the sovereign state acting to maximize its power: "by interdependence is meant the direct and positive linkage of the interests of states such that when the position of one state changes, the position of others is affected in the same direction," (Taylor, 1983, 162).

Modifying this emphasis on the state, Modernists perceive patterns of interdependence rapidly developing as the sovereign nation-state begins to be eclipsed by such non-national actors as transnational corporations, transnational social movements and international governmental and non-governmental organisations. Both realist and modernist elements are visible in international education practice.

Keohane and Nye (1977), believing in the fundamental validity of a process of increasing ecological and socioeconomic interdependence, formulated the concept of 'international regimes'. An international regime is one in which interdependence affects state behaviour, where non-state actors are recognised as being important, but where state interests and state activity still constitute the dominant modality through which patterns of interdependence are experienced (8).

A global order is therefore emerging through the uneven acknowledgement of interdependence both by nation-states and their organs and by less state-centric institutions. The transactionalist approach (see above) stresses networks characterised by informality, diversity and flexibility, a reflection of the "prodigious movement and interdependence of goods, services, ideas and people," (Groom & Heraclides, 176), and this too can be incorporated within the concept of international regimes.



International education activities can clearly be placed within the concept of international regimes. The concept allows international education to be viewed as simultaneously reflecting national, international, interdependent and transactional dimensions.

Even where the existence of interdependence can be agreed upon, different interpretations of the rationales and consequences of such interdependence compete. Haas (1977) offers eco-evolutionist, eco-reformist, and egalitarian options (9). These suggest a range of international education possibilities for internal variations within the 'world studies' or 'education for international understanding' categories.

If a more interdependent world order has emerged during the twentieth century, does this presage a parallel expansion of international education? Does "international society" lead to international education? Although awareness, and possibly acceptance, of interdependence may grow, a critical approach needs to be taken to the characteristics of this putative world system. Not only should Donelan's caveat be recalled, but like any other social system there will be differentials in the amounts of power, influence and privilege distributed through the system. World society will not turn out to be any different from nation-based societies in respect to such characteristics.

World-system and core-periphery formulations (Frank, 1969; Wallerstein, 1979; Pettman, 1979), add something to this strand of the argument. They have criticised the pluralist bias of much world society theorising, and have insisted on the need for a clearer recognition of the asymmetrical

elements of the system: rather than *interdependence* they have focused on *dependence* and on the value of stability and the costs of change for the privileged (Galtung, 1976). It is also important to stress that the concept of interdependence encompasses many different emphases - economic, political and cultural.

The world may well shrink and there may be more transnational activity, but experience and consciousness of such trends is confined to certain, more privileged, groups. Much has already been written about the international equivalent of the innovatory and modernising national bourgeoisies (Modelska, 1970). Susan Strange, discussing the formation of new 'information-rich' strata within the knowledge structure, suggests that the elites operating within a national milieu "are being superseded everywhere by a transnational managerial class" (1988, 134). Etzioni, (1981), echoing some of Modelska's work, suggests that this process creates 'system elites' who owe their allegiance to the integrated system, whereas 'unit elites' owe their loyalties to the constituent elements of the system. This distinction will be of particular use when interpreting the institutionally-based accounts of international education presented in Chapter Five.

As for the relationship, within the overall concept of 'international', between the variants of interdependence and integration, Taylor suggests that the form of interdependence is likely to be affected by the level of integration reached between the involved partners. Once a degree of interdependence has been reached there would appear to be tensions between pressures for further integration or greater

autonomy.

### Summary

Part One of this chapter has expanded the conceptual range of the 'international' descriptor attached to education. It was suggested, and it will later be argued with the evidence presented in Chapters Three, Four and Five, that the various practices of international higher education cannot remain unaffected by the meanings that are attached to international. Understanding the variety of meanings along the spectrum will clarify the ways in which different groups of international educators have themselves mobilised arguments in support of the phenomenon.

Secondly, Part One has argued for an understanding of the growth of international education in realist and structuralist rather than idealist terms. This proposition is essential to this thesis' interpretation of both the development of and the differentiation within international education. Part Two of this chapter continues to argue, from an operational and institutional rather than a conceptual perspective, for this understanding.

The preceding pages have sketched out certain distinctions that will later in this chapter be utilised in the construction of a typology. Subsequently, these elements will help to trace and interpret differences of orientation and practice in US and EC international education.

Through the insights derived from international relations, international education can be seen in a certain perspective. It can be viewed as a factor in the construction of a more integrated international system, or a more integrated world order. It can be envisaged as playing a substantial

role in the development of a consensual disposition towards an international community (functionalist emphasis), or as the site of specific technical international agreements between cooperating educational institutions and systems (neo-functional emphasis). Or, it can be seen as contributing to the growth of the international system every time an academic, a student, or an educational administrator travels to, or communicates with, an educational institution in another country (transactionalist emphasis).

With the benefit of these insights into the *conceptual* dimensions of the phenomenon, a closer investigation of the *practices* of international education can now be undertaken in Part Two.

## Part Two - International Education: Institutional Forms and the question of Agency

### Aims

Part One looked at 'international' in wider terms because the meanings associated with the idea of international inflect the practice and orientation of international education. Part Two establishes that the sources of expanded international education are neither individual institutions or international organisations, but nationally-based systems of higher education.

To undertake a comparative analysis of US and EC international education, the phenomenon has to be established as more than an occasional idealist manifestation. International education does not arise because people of goodwill desire it, neither is it effectively delivered by international organisations who have an interest in promoting it. As an observable, large-scale phenomenon, it exists in both the EC and the US because nationally-based systems and institutions of higher education believe it to be in their interests to provide it. International education can thus be linked to national or regional perceptions of interest to which the organisations through which it is delivered are responding.

The comparative investigation of international education can therefore proceed, not on the basis of case studies of maverick institutions and idealistic organisations, but on the generalised level of national systems delivering their versions of international education according to their own, realist, criteria.

Part Two aims at establishing international education as a *situated* social activity, organised by established *groups*,

and delivered through conventional *institutions*. It will thus become amenable to comparative analysis.

### Argument

The argument of Part Two is essentially about agency. It focuses on how international education is delivered, by which institutions, subject to which influences - realist or idealist. It will demonstrate that a comparative sociological account for both the rise of, and regional variations in international education can only be based on its link to realist, national interests and identities.

Adopting the model suggested by Susan Strange (1988), this thesis continues to argue that international education should be seen as a reflection of changes in the international political or economic order. Her model conceptualises four different structural dimensions of power within this order: security, production, finance, and knowledge. No one facet is always or necessarily more important than the other three (10).

Strange uses the concept of the knowledge structure to refer to that aspect of the political economy that generates and disseminates cognitive insights and information. Because the power derived from knowledge is diffuse and less quantifiable than the power deriving from other structures, such as security and finance, it is often overlooked. Strange mentions the effect of technological developments in communications on the knowledge sector, though she fails to acknowledge that changes have also occurred in the more traditional channels of knowledge transmission. By incorporating education into Strange's framework, it becomes apparent that education is subject to internationalising trends in just the

same way as production and finance (11). An increasing number of educational systems and institutions, students, faculty and administrators, as well as the content and mode of transmission of education are affected by the internationalisation that is taking place in the production, security and financial sectors.

The argument that international education is a socially constructed, variable phenomenon, linked to other economic and security concerns and reflecting the times and circumstances within which it appears, has two elements. First, the evolution of the *institutional forms* adopted by international education will be briefly addressed (12). It is argued that attempts to supply increased amounts of international education on the basis of universalist idealism are institutionally and organisationally weak. This is also demonstrated by indicating the limited impact resulting from the efforts of higher education institutions that are dedicated to international education.

The second element of the argument suggests that although international organisations like UNESCO clearly have an interest in promoting international education, their role is highly circumscribed. Expectations that such organisations might effectively deliver or support greater amounts of international education are misplaced. It is argued that expansion of international education to mass levels will be firmly related to nation-state perceptions of the utility of such education, often in terms of redressing competitive disadvantage. The effects of structural influences and social processes on the nature and type of international education are emphasised throughout.

## Organised and Institutionalised International Education

Prior to the late nineteenth century, most of the physical movement associated with international education would be characterised today as *mobilité sauvage* (13). The first signs of *organised* international education are generally associated with the rise of bodies wishing to extend international contacts. Cubberley argued in 1909 that the emergence of a radically new society through industrialisation, urbanisation, expanded commerce and immigration, was leading to growing complexity and interdependence between nations. This could result in dangerous and "irresponsible" behaviour. The new order could be made more securely democratic, comprehensible and efficient through international education (Connell, 3).

It was expected that international education would be delivered through international rather than national organisations. Huden quotes John Eaton, the second U.S. Commissioner of Education, who mooted the idea of an international educational organisation at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876:

Yes, gentlemen, before the time of universal peace can come, the schoolmaster must be abroad over the whole earth... Education is the primary and most essential subject [for men of various nationalities to confer upon] (Huden, 4).

This Comtean notion of international education might seem naive by today's standards, but it is accorded milestone status by Huden. A second American initiative in the field of international education was blocked when an intergovernmental education conference at the Hague was cancelled due to the outbreak of war in 1914.

The experience of war resulted in renewed efforts to



set up an international educational body through the League of Nations in the early 1920s. Despite Bergson's claim that this would be the most important organ of the League, the ICIC (International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation) engendered very little enthusiasm from its ill-fated parent body (14). The ICIC had many tasks to perform, mostly under the rubric of developing an international consciousness and this, along with its function as a clearing house for educational, cultural and scientific research, clearly pre-sages the character of its successor, UNESCO.

#### International Colleges and Universities

Conventional wisdom would suggest that since universities are dedicated to advancing universal knowledge they are *ipso facto* international institutions. Nevertheless, they have operated for the past 500 years or so in the context of nation states. This section examines some of the institutional forms resulting from deliberate attempts to escape such contradictory tensions.

Zweig's account of the successive attempts (he estimates approximately one thousand since the First World War) to inaugurate a world university, locates the origins of the first project in Brussels in 1919. Otlet, its founder, used phrases with a remarkably contemporary ring:

[the World University would stress] the spirit of synthesis... in this centre students from all countries will live together and have a common life. Tomorrow these students will everywhere be at the head of business, education, science, administration and politics. They will learn to know and respect one another and will form close relationships for the rest of their lives (Zweig, ch.1).

The goals ascribed to international education in the immediate aftermath of World War One indicate the almost

impossible scope and scale of expectations at that time. The ICIC, initially supportive of the proposed World University, began to draw back from it on the grounds of utopianism and impracticality. Among the list of priorities was the training of civil servants, the generation of international loyalties and sympathies, the coordination and synthesis of research and academic exchanges, the study of conflict and conflict resolution, the institutionalisation of opportunities for cross-national and cross-cultural contact, and the development of common definitions and approaches to problems. This ambitious agenda (covering the range of activities now engaged in by scores of different agencies of international education) soon stretched the skimpy resources of the World University, which faded from view by the mid-thirties.

A second Belgian attempt to set up an international institution of higher education, after the Second World War, is documented by Blaber & Cerych. The College of Europe was an altogether more modest, smaller-scale project emanating from the Cultural Section of the European Movement and established as a postgraduate level institution in 1950. The aims echoed those declared by an earlier generation -

it was necessary to supply the newly emerging Europe with cadres... in other words provide a special training [for future leaders]. It was necessary to study thoroughly and systematically the problems of European integration, to graduate from utopian to scientific federalism - in other words to approach Europe as a specific subject, an understandable field of study. (From the Rector's 10th Anniversary Speech, quoted by Blaber & Cerych, 462) (15).

Blaber and Cerych do not judge that the College was intended as a European School of Administration. The main aim was to broaden horizons, which implied the transcendence of nationalism. Similar orientations are manifested in more recently

established postgraduate institutions: the European University Institute at Florence, and the United Nations University in Japan.

However, such institutions play a very limited role in the expansion of mass-level, undergraduate international education. They embody research and policy orientations, their scope is narrow, and the number of such institutions is likely to remain relatively small. As indicated above, "world universities", prompted by utopian idealism, appear to have a short and troubled existence. They cannot become widespread because they are not promoted or sustained by traditional nation state-oriented groups and structures. Recent growth in international education appears to have come neither from specialised post-graduate research institutes, nor from independent and unorthodox institutions with a universalist disposition.

Before stipulating that the growth of international education is connected to the interests of orthodox social and political groups, acting within the nation state, and reflecting national or regional concerns, another possibility merits attention. If occasional attempts to establish international universities seem unlikely to lay the foundations for an expansion of international education, could international organisations provide the motivation and the wherewithal?

Although this analysis accords a rather limited role to idealism in the development of effective and expanded international education, certain idealist features emerge as significant when linked to structural changes over time.

These features emerge from the historical accounts of the development of international educational activities from the earliest manifestations to the 1960s (see footnotes 1 and 14; Hans, 1965; Zweig, 1967). They are characterised by scholarly universalism underpinned initially by Catholicism, and subsequently by rational positivism. Early manifestations of international education were pre-national and were individually rather than programmatically realised. By the late nineteenth century new factors are present. First, a tension emerges between the positivist creed of progress and harmony and the reality of imperial competition and strife. Secondly, there is a growth in functionally-oriented international organisations. Thirdly, improved transport and communications networks make mobility and the exchange of ideas easier. A number of organisations begin to conceive of international education as though it were a sufficient condition for perpetual peace itself.

Though the collectivities promoting utopian plans were unable to render their aspirations concrete, they left a residue recognisable in the "education for international understanding" strand of contemporary practice. To a degree, they also constitute the underpinning for the revitalised Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGOs) of the post-1945 era. The next section explores the possibility that such IGOs constitute a reliable base for increased amounts of international education.

#### UNESCO as a Vehicle for International Education (16)

A good example of the development of organisational forms within which certain aspects of internationalism and international education find expression can be seen in the rise of

UNESCO and other UN-inspired institutions. Since its foundation in 1946, UNESCO has implemented a programme to promote education for international understanding, since "war begins in the minds of men" (17). The impact of this approach on international education was considerable, especially in its 'global perspective' heyday in the 1970s. The high water mark was reached in the Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace (18).

The Recommendation defines as major guiding principles of educational policy:

an international dimension and a global perspective,  
a call to promote understanding and respect for all  
peoples, their cultures....international solidarity  
and cooperation,... etc. (UNESCO, 1974, 9)

This internationalist message undoubtedly had widespread appeal before the recession of the mid-70s began to influence first economic, and then political and social thought and practice.

An assessment of the impact of this particular concept of international education and its institutional underpinnings, comes from Huden (1977). He suggests it remained largely irrelevant and marginal to the development of international education policies and processes. For example, he claims that the key actors in the German educational reforms of the early 1970s, in which concerns about international education were prominent, actually had very little contact with the three international organisations with proximate concerns: the Council of Europe, the OECD, and UNESCO.

Huden's critique of UNESCO's "feebleness" can be extended, with caution, to many other relevant IGOs and INGOs (International Non-Governmental Organisations) involved with



international education, as well as to a particular concept of internationalism itself. Huden suggests that "fuzzy romanticism", and limited jurisdiction constrain UNESCO to act cautiously. In seeking bland legitimacy, UNESCO is unable to build a strong, non-governmental constituency in its operations. This situation leads to the syndrome of making fine-sounding declarations, engaging in a great deal of posturing, but resulting in very little action. Ultimately this has an eroding effect on the initially highly idealistic internationalism.

Clearly, the rise of an international organisational framework was a necessary step, since the development of international cooperation and understanding would be problematic in its absence. Equally clearly, however, the existence of this framework does not inevitably lead to greater peace and harmony.

In the post-war world, the issues confronting national governments have grown more complex, but the likelihood that nationally-based political elites will embrace supranational solutions is not necessarily enhanced. Haas (1977) concludes his investigation of international organisations by casting doubt on their ability to bring about change. The impossibility of solving problems on a strictly national basis does not automatically lead to an increasing web of international collaboration. Global institutions are not necessarily strengthened by the greater salience of problems of global dimensions - on the contrary, "national actors may, and often do, seek to strengthen national capabilities for dealing with such issues," (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff, 437).

The erosion of faith in the IGO or INGO as the effec-

tive delivery vehicle of international education resulted in a proliferation of other means. Some took the form of deliberately grafting an international dimension onto national patterns of higher education. Curricular developments broadened the scope of subjects, institutionally sponsored study abroad programmes grew in volume, (19), along with the expansion of work placements abroad (beyond their traditional role for undergraduates studying foreign languages).

These shifts can be placed within the continuing argument that international education does not expand because increasing numbers of idealistically-inclined individuals, groups and institutions demand it or supply it. It does not result from a generalised notion of what "ought to be". Neither does it expand primarily because of an idealist awareness of the interconnections associated with the international world order. None of these can account for contemporary institutionalisation and growth in international education. Nationally based functional units (education systems, individual institutions of higher education) now initiate and cooperate in the field of international education, driven not so much by the ideals of internationalism, but by their perception of economic and strategic vulnerability. IGOs and INGOs play a facilitating role, but the limits of their efficacy have to be acknowledged (20).

The relevance of this to the argument of the thesis is that the most effective proponents of international education are now national or even sub-national, rather than international. When international education is not related to realist interpretations of political and economic chan-

ges, it remains a marginal, utopian activity.

Within international education, the utopian emphasis has lessened and the functional one grown as the supply of such education has increasingly taken place within national education systems. It is within the nation state context that the clues to expansion should be sought. It is also within that context that another significant historical shift in international education has taken place. By the middle of the twentieth century, international education is no longer a phenomenon associated primarily with individuals or internationally-minded organisations. It is being purposefully discussed, promoted and organised by *groups* operating within a national context.

#### Summary

Exploration of the conceptual dimensions of 'international' in Part One and of agency aspects of international education in Part Two are part of the general argument that links the phenomenon to trends in the international political and economic order. This argument is important to the thesis, since it 'places' international education in a way conducive to a structural analysis of its growth. Historically high levels of international education in the twentieth century cannot be explained by reference to the activities of a few well-intentioned idealists, nor the efforts of organisations dedicated to international cooperation.

Strange's model was used to suggest that international education can be seen as a response within the knowledge sector to changes in the production, security and finance sectors of the international order. Specific instances of previous modes of international education were reviewed



in order to demonstrate their vulnerable status. The possibility that international organisations could act as delivery vehicles of international education was also considered, but limitations were revealed. The marginality of these agencies of international education stems from their lack of connection to national perceptions of the international order and the resultant definitions of national interest.

Part Two indicates that the growth of international education should be seen as an objective pursued for realist purposes by groups and institutions located in a national context. It suggests that international education is connected less with the high-minded idealism of individuals, and more with the response of national societies and their institutions to changes in international economic and political patterns.

Part Three will incorporate the conceptual and institutional explorations of international education undertaken in Parts One and Two, will link them to insights derived from other sources, and will offer a classificatory model for use in comparative analysis.

### Part Three - Developing a Model of International Education

#### Aims

Part Three will use the analyses offered in Parts Two and Three to construct a model of international education. This model will also incorporate elements from others' attempts to schematise the phenomenon. The model will reflect the multiple dimensions of international education and will offer a means by which greater precision can be achieved when comparing different types of international education.

#### Argument

After reviewing a number of different definitions and conceptual schemes, it will be argued that international education can be approached according to three fundamental categories of analysis: orientation, function and form. These will be tied together in a matrix that highlights the importance of the context within which the international education activity takes place. The use of this matrix offers a consistent mode of analysis for comparative research in the field.

#### Existing Models

Conceptual clarity has not been high on the agenda of international educators because each fragment of the collectivity, has perceived the phenomenon from its own narrow perspective. Both idealists and realists argue for international education, but the justifications they offer clearly influence how they then proceed to define it. The number and range of institutions and organisations concerned with international education gives a further indication of the difficulties in defining what it is (21). The following review explores the range of co-existing definitions.

Increased awareness of international economic, political and cultural linkages and the growth of a system of enhanced interdependence prompted educators, their paymasters and their clients to react in different ways. Administrators sought to adopt measures for greater cross national equivalence and standardisation of certification, and increasingly accepted such new qualifications as the International Baccalaureate. The number of cooperative agreements between educational institutions in different countries increased as a result of the growth in study abroad and exchange programmes. Even where such programmes are arranged on a unidirectional rather than on a reciprocal exchange basis, they require negotiations between the academic and administrative staff of the home and the host institutions. There is also a vast growth in the number of students pursuing all or part of their education, training and certification in a foreign country.

Another notion of international education emanates from such bodies as the Council of Europe and UNESCO. Despite their attempts to initiate and coordinate educational policy on a regional or international basis, they tend to end up forming data-gathering and information clearing-house activities, which then influence their view of international education (22). Other manifestations of international education are seen in the growth of international schools, colleges and universities, (some of which seem primarily for the use of First World expatriates).

It is clear then that there are physical organisational, institutional, administrative as well as academic facets of

international education. Any definition of international education must preferably encompass, or at least not preclude the possibility of incorporating the full range of meanings and practices found within the field.

The Husén and Postlethwaite (1985, 2660-2666) definition of international education attempts to deal with this problem by differentiating between educational and scholarly dimensions and the institutionalisation of activities. In tracing the development of international education they draw upon such factors as student and faculty exchange, internationalisation of the labour market, infrastructural and technical assistance projects to developing countries, the international community of scientific researchers, and the pervasive influence of mass media in reducing perceptual and geographic barriers.

Both Husén and Harari (Knowles, 1977) cite the Swedish experience of internationalising education in the mid-1970s. Husén, presents it as a typical example of the tension between the idealistic and pragmatic goals of international education (23). He observes

when governments take actions aiming at extending the international dimension of formal education, the more pragmatic aspect is usually considered in the first place since it can be more easily operationalised into programmes and monies....The pragmatic approach lends itself more easily to concrete policy measures and actions [which] can be assessed fairly objectively... It is much more difficult to measure awareness of global interdependence or the moral commitment that ensues from it. (Knowles, 2662)

Over time, a number of different attempts have been made to classify the complexity of international education. Most address the connection between the purpose of a particular instance of international education and the corresponding

cognitive components. Heater, (1980), argues that the core problematic conceptualised by the type of international education being investigated defines the appropriate skill and knowledge outcomes that are sought. He suggests the core problematics can be conservative, liberal and radical.

Reviewing British interpretations of 'world studies' Hicks and Townley, (1982), list a number of differing orientations incorporated in the field - for each shift in ideas beyond the school and outside the formal curriculum they argue there is a corresponding form of international educational response. Change in the scope of awareness results in education for international understanding; recognition of interdependence results in world-studies; the raised profile of development issues leads to development-studies, and of peace to peace-studies.

Since American international education emerged, expanded and proliferated earlier than any other variant, US writers have commented extensively on the need to distinguish between different forms and orientations. Arum, (1987), differentiates international studies, international education and international exchange. Lamy, (1983), clarifies the difference between global and international education. His analysis places the content and purpose of international education programmes in five categories: idealist, geopolitical, functionalist-internationalist, free trade internationalist, and radical internationalist (24). These will now be briefly outlined.

For Lamy, the idealist position stresses peaceful co-existence and cross-cultural understanding. It incorporates an educational critique of realist views of the international

order which, according to idealist perspectives, only perpetuate conflict.

Geopolitical internationalists (or realists) accept the realities of force and power and aim to alert students to an expanded definition of national interest. Realist internationalism led to the development of Area Studies programmes in the US in the wake of the Truman Doctrine, and its proponents continue to argue for a high state of awareness of the international environment as a cornerstone of national security.

Functionalist internationalists emphasise the growth of webs and networks of interdependence between state and non-state actors (see discussion of Keohane & Nye in Part One). Their concern is to encourage mutual cooperation and understanding between different cultures, and the acquisition by students of the skills and competencies needed to resolve major problems and conflicts.

The free-trade internationalist is concerned with enhanced cooperation in the global marketplace, since the resultant interdependence will bring benefits to all. Their aim is to train students for effective competition in the world market.

The fifth, radical, perspective questions whether the emerging forms of global interdependence operate to the equal benefit of all players, and suggests that asymmetrical interdependence should lead to justice and inequality issues being placed on the curriculum.

Currently, a dominant theme in international education advocacy both in Europe and the US would fit into the "free-

trade internationalist" category. However, dominant though it is, other possibilities still exist. Recent trends in the public discourse on international education in the US, reflect a renewed emphasis on geopolitical and functionalist orientations (25).

The terms employed in international education discourse are problematic in two ways - they address related but distinctive issues and concerns, and the issues themselves are invested with political significance (26). The vulnerability of international education to swings in political fashion and changes in national and international mood and self-image can be inferred from the labels employed: international, intercultural, cross-cultural, and global perspective.

The variety of such political and economic influences, and their consequences for the orientation of international education at different times and in different places, point to the need to identify which elements might be present in any manifestation of international education.

#### A Suggested Matrix

To make sense of the different meanings of international education and its varied perceptions of reality, this sub-section now creates a matrix which draws upon elements of the models outlined above, expands upon them and links them with some basic components of education. The matrix has three intersecting elements representing orientation, function and form. Each element is further divided into different characteristics.

The plane of orientation encompasses the following four dimensions:

i) "nationalist and ethnocentric" international education is oriented by domestic values and criteria. The need for a degree of awareness about the outside world is dictated and circumscribed by national interests. Governments promote this type of education most readily when it enhances their national power, prosperity and prestige.

ii) "polycentric" international education is oriented by a pluralist agenda and is close to certain types of multi- and cross-cultural education in promoting relativism. A large proportion of the material appearing in American international education during the 1970s falls into this category.

iii) "regiocentric" international education is oriented by a sensitivity to regional interests, interdependencies and vulnerabilities. The higher education policies of the European Community, especially the student mobility aspects, exemplify this type.

iv) "geocentric" international education perhaps comes closest to the Platonic ideal. It is global in its framework rather than domestic, polycentric or regional, and is best exemplified by the institutions and organisations discussed in Part Two. Though these are not discrete categories, and can nowhere be found in pure and unsullied form, this element of the matrix may assist in clarifying the *orientation* of international education.

The second, functional, element of the matrix covers three possibilities. The functions of international - or any - education are to engender (1) knowledge, (2) skills and (3) values. The matrix takes into account that the kind of international education being purveyed will directly in-



fluence the functions it seeks to fulfill.

The knowledge function concerns the imparting of factual material about the systemic composition of the world, and how increasingly complex forms of interrelationships impact upon existing interests. The skills function relates to the development of certain intellectual and behavioural abilities. The affective and normative (value-oriented) function, is the area subject to the greatest prolixity and is particularly sensitive to the location of the discourse within the four categories of the first plane of the matrix (27).

The issue of the education/training overlap is particularly acute here (28). Within international education, especially in the US, the development of functional capabilities carries connotations of civics or citizen awareness approaches, and also touches on the notion of functional literacy with its stress on the acquisition of 'survival skills' in an increasingly complex environment. These inevitably relate to the development of assets and skills that have a labour-market value.

The third plane of the matrix represents the forms of international education - the particular ways in which the product or service is delivered. This covers the range from study abroad, student and faculty exchange, deliberate changes to curriculum, to institutional orientation, policy shifts within parts of or entire educational systems, bilateral or multilateral cooperation and clearing-house and information organisations.

To clarify the model described above, an illustration is offered overleaf.

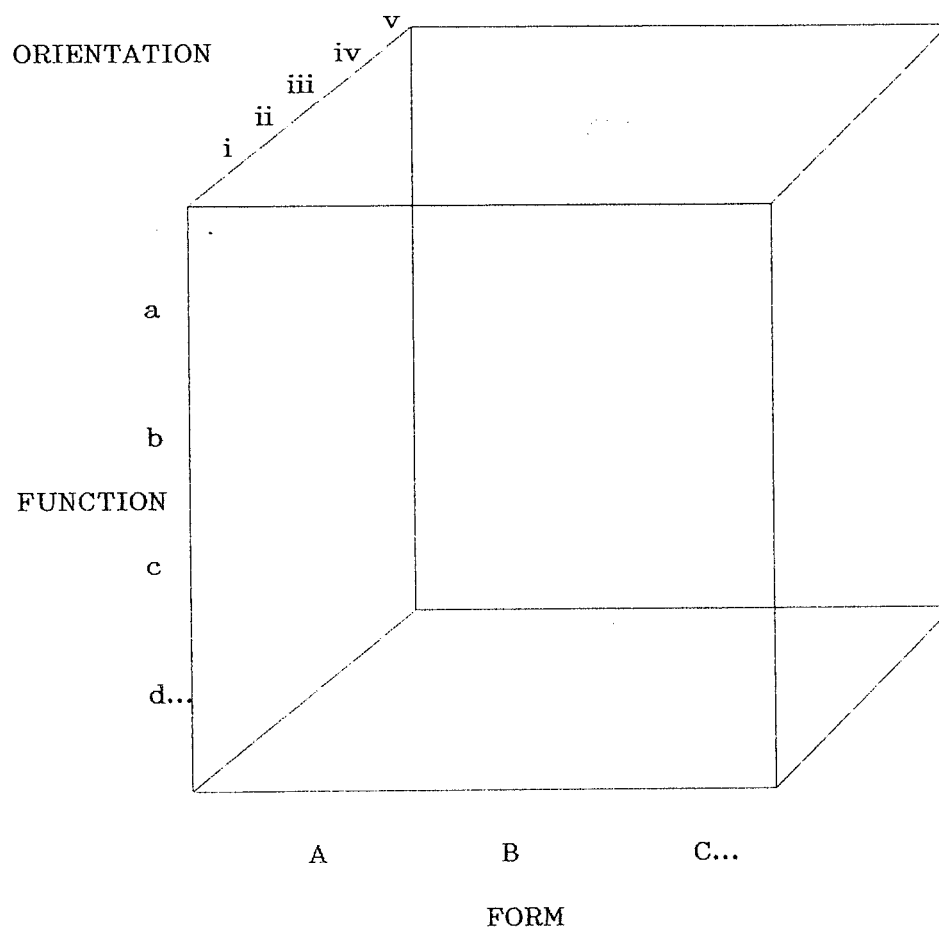


FIG. 1. Orientation, Form and Function of International Education

ORIENTATION:	i -	nationalist-ethnocentric;
	ii -	polycentric;
	iii -	regiocentric;
	iv -	geocentric...
FUNCTION:	a -	knowledge;
	b -	skills;
	c -	values...
FORM:	A -	student mobility;
	B -	curricular change;
	C -	educational policy...

The matrix is designed to illustrate the multi-dimensional nature of international education, and to show the various possibilities within each dimension. Each case of international education is seen to have three values according to the dimensions of orientation, function and form. These dimensions exist in a cellular relationship rather than a linear one, rather like a Rubik's cube.

For example, that element of American international education which is mandated by the NDEA Title VI Section 203 Amendment is nationalist in *orientation*, and is designed to perform a citizenship awareness *function*. Area Studies Centres will provide service courses to local colleges, and this constitutes its *form*. Another example is provided by ERASMUS, whose *orientation* is regiocentric, whose *functions* include knowledge, skills and values, and whose *form* is primarily that of student mobility. Along with other examples, these will be subjected to closer scrutiny in Chapters Three and Four.

Orientations and functions can, of course, exhibit a range of internal sensitivities to strategic, production, finance and knowledge concerns. For example, while the classical nationalist-ethnocentric orientation is focused on a strategic definition of national security, a more economic emphasis will focus on concerns over international trade and domestic market penetration.

### Summary

Part Three has continued the assertion that international education is complex in terms of causality, orientation and organisational forms. After examining a number of attempts to define and classify international education, a

model was created which was based on three fundamental categories of analysis. The first of these was orientation which encompasses such questions as what sensitivities are in play, what goals and objectives are designated and what problematics are involved. All these were held to be conditioned by the prevailing view of the world held by the architects and proponents of the particular example of international education under scrutiny.

The second element was based upon the intended functions of international education. This allows for different combinations of cognitive, instrumental and affective categories. The third element encompassed the variety of forms that international education could take.

Within each of the categories of the matrix can be found sub-sections that facilitate an even more sensitive understanding of the various examples of international education practice that can be found both now and in the past, and within a range of political and regional contexts.

This matrix can begin to be used in order to differentiate between various examples of international education that will be analysed in the thesis. Even where the *forms* may be similar - as in the case of student mobility or study abroad - the *orientations* and *functions* may be shown to differ.

The last part of this chapter will explore the characteristics of study abroad as a form of international education of particular interest to this investigation.

## Part Four - Study Abroad as a Focus

### Aims

The final part of this chapter will emphasise study abroad as an aspect of international education that is attracting a growing amount of research attention. It will establish study abroad as a form of international education of particular relevance to this thesis.

### Argument

Research patterns in international education have traditionally clustered around study abroad issues, though generally from the perspective of cultural adjustment (29). Research activity focused on study abroad has only very recently begun to explore some of the issues at the core of this thesis - differences between US and European international education, and accounting for such differences at the institutional level (Oppen, Teichler & Carlson, 1990; Burn, Cerych & Smith, 1990; Maiworm, Steube & Teichler, 1991).

Being activity-oriented, study abroad is both visible and quantifiable. Using the categories developed in Part Three, even its *form* is "international" in an obvious and unproblematic sense. Through physical mobility it merits the international label, even if the purposes, duration and levels of integration remain highly differentiated. Study abroad also has a "multiplier effect" since the movement of students impacts upon a wide range of institutional activities. The ways in which institutions respond, the outside agencies upon whom they rely for support, the reasons given to account for the priority (or otherwise) that study abroad has within the institutional agenda are all open to compari-

son and assessment for influence.

Both the *orientation* and *function* aspects of study abroad are particularly open to analysis, since the rationales and objectives of study abroad programmes are often clearly laid out at institutional level. Study abroad provides an excellent perspective through which institutional awareness of, and commitment to, international education can be assessed. The institutional impact, the concrete focus, the lengthy US involvement in study abroad juxtaposed with its relatively recent expansion in a European context, all facilitate the examination of structural and institutional factors in accounting for US and European differences.

#### Study Abroad comes into Focus

By the mid- to late-1980s much of the impetus behind the 'soft-centred' approaches to international education - labelled "utopian internationalism" in Part Two - was exhausted, and a sense of more limited (and therefore more readily evaluated objectives) was gaining ground. This shift to more 'realistic' perspectives brought real advantages in the research sphere. The recognition of the enormous range of objectives and types of international education perhaps stimulated the search for pragmatic and attainable objectives. In higher education there was renewed emphasis on organised student mobility at the undergraduate level on the grounds that cognitive, affective and skill development outcomes follow from living and studying in another culture. Hence a period of study abroad might be worth more than the equivalent period spent in the home country classroom being exposed to theoretical and conceptual relativities.

Burn, (1980, 79), citing the 1978 Markowits and Keelor survey of US college students, states: "direct contact does, in general, make a significant positive difference in both knowledge and attitudes." Senator Fulbright, progenitor of one of the best known study abroad schemes, claimed that:

educational exchange can turn nations into people, contributing as no other form of communication can to the humanizing of international relations. Man's capacity for decent behavior seems to vary directly with his perceptions of others as individual humans with human motives and feelings, whereas his capacity for barbarism seems related to his perception of an adversary in abstract terms..as the embodiment of some evil design (quoted in Ferish, 1968, 142).

European Community educational policy since the late 1970s has confirmed the importance of increasing student mobility within the community in order to enhance closer relations between states and highlight the human and social dimensions of economic goals. In the US the promotion of study abroad proceeds for similar reasons and, in the most recent declarations, the Americans cite ERASMUS as an impressive example of organised study abroad (30).

As study abroad moved to greater prominence in the international education arena, the issue of the relative popularity of individual mobility and the corresponding unavailability or unattractiveness of organised mobility was often addressed. To increase the volume of mobility, the challenge would be to shift participants increasingly towards the organised form. Burn, Smith, and others have commented on the long-term trend from free towards organised mobility. Perkins has argued that the worldwide movement of students and academics passes through three historical stages:

first came the "free market or laissez faire stage."

It was gradually replaced as higher education expanded after World War II by an increasingly complex set of requirements and conditions for study overseas: the "restricted market". We have not fully entered the restricted market era because the guidance is imperfect...the restrictions are full of loopholes and the institutional and national differences vary so considerably as to allow great freedom of choice... Yet... we are already moving into a third stage: as restrictions, rules, conditions, and difficulties multiply, the "planned market" emerges as the natural way to relieve the individual of having to deal with the complexities of stage two. (THES, 1/9/76, 6)

Current policy options strongly favour the expansion of study abroad, both in the USA and in the Community. Nevertheless, questions regarding the practical aspects of large-scale mobility and the fostering of the "will to mobility" are still posed in many sectors of international education. These include students themselves, educational institutions and departments within them, and the political institutions from whence supporting legislation and funding springs. The disadvantages that attend this mode of international education - costs, lack of appeal to many students, and difficulties concerning lack of fit with degree or diploma programmes - make for relatively modest current take-up rates, and this in turn influences future targeting. In Europe, the original ERASMUS 1992 target was scaled down from 10% to 5%, though in the US, where under 2% of college students currently participate in some form of study abroad arrangements, interested parties are aiming at a fivefold increase (31).

Much of the earlier literature assumed an innate 'will to mobility' in both students and academics. The proportion of the constituency that really is potentially mobile is hard to estimate, but extending the option of international education to "non-traditional" sectors is clearly helping to raise



participation rates. Partly in response to difficulties in expanding the base, a vocational emphasis has been grafted onto the study abroad mode of international education, despite the existing suspicions that study abroad is not a wholly legitimate academic experience.

In 1980 Burn already detected the first signs of a vocational twist to study abroad:

the growing emphasis [on individual or collective skill development] in higher education will diminish the cultural focus that has long been a characteristic of overseas study and lead to the recruitment of more students from professional fields such as business administration, law, public health and engineering. (Burn, 1980, 78)

The Institute of International Education Open Doors Report, confirms this trend both in terms of inbound foreign students and outbound US students; engineering, business studies and science/computer science were among the top five growth areas (1984, 89), (32). In her interim report on study abroad, Burn observes that a growing number of study abroad participants come from the community college sector of American higher education. With its vocationally and professionally oriented programmes, "their greater participation...is adding to the growing focus on professional fields in overseas study," (Burn & Briggs, 1985, 40), (33).

By 1990 Burn, stating that study abroad has become a "compelling national priority," added

we decided early on that we should be called the National Task Force on Undergraduate "Education Abroad", not "Study Abroad." Why? Because in our view if many more students are to have an experience abroad, including those with limited funds, work abroad is an important activity to encourage and expand, assuming that it involves international learning. (Burn, 1990, 45) The relative scarcity of European material reflects the later entry of Euro-

pean countries into study abroad programme activity, especially in a *sending* as opposed to a *host* capacity. Opper dates the earliest organised European outbound programmes, two German and one French to 1963, by which time scores of American colleges had established regular programmes and had institutionalised study abroad offices (Opper, 1987, 30).

By the mid-1980s, study abroad was sufficiently well-established on both sides of the Atlantic to prompt comparative research on its effects on students and participating institutions. The Study Abroad Evaluation Project (SAEP) investigated several facets of study abroad programmes ranging from the characteristics of the participating institutions, fields of study affected, profiles of participating students, through to career implications, financial aspects, and academic recognition procedures.

The roots of the study abroad programmes investigated by the SAEP can be traced to a seminal European Cultural Foundation Report of 1976 that argued strongly for a major Community effort to expand organised undergraduate student mobility (Masclet, 1976). Arguing that graduate level mobility, long held to be the priority area, should cease to be the focus of attention, Masclet reported:

it is our feeling that undergraduate exchange should be developed, *not for academic or pedagogic reasons, but for others, broader and less immediate*. Student exchange, so often regarded as marginal, is in reality a leading issue. Its true place is at the centre, not as is often felt at the fringe, of the system. *Every instance of mobility has an effect on the institution..* The provision of a European experience for part of the university population is bound to contribute to developing the sense of belonging to a European society in the making. (Masclet, 15 - 17) (emphases added) (34)

Pointing the way forward via pragmatic policies for organised mobility, the Report urged the EEC to de-emphasise its efforts to achieve equivalence for degrees and diplomas,

(the strategy also pursued over the years by the Council of Europe), because

equivalence has ceased to be the driving force.. mobility exists and succeeds when its usefulness is clearly perceived, when it serves a specific project and especially when it is organised by teaching establishments.(54-55)

In fact, the dichotomy between the proponents of organised mobility and those of equivalence and mutual recognition is less marked than it initially appears, since the latter issues are incorporated in the inter-institutional arrangements that articulate organised and integrated study abroad programmes.

The eventual outcome of these recommendations was the European Community's Joint Study Programme which created the programmes investigated by the SAEP nearly a decade later. These, along with the other foreign study programmes from Sweden and the USA included in the survey, possess four basic characteristics defined in the following way:

they are conducted on the basis of negotiated arrangements between a 'sending' or 'home' institution and a 'receiving' or 'host' institution in each instance; these arrangements comprise a certain degree of provision of organisational infrastructure (in terms of such aspects as preparation, monitoring, counselling, etc.); the study period abroad is regarded as constituting a meaningful part of the participating students' overall educational programme (though the degree and the manner of integration into that programme and the extent to and way in which credit is awarded may ... vary); the arrangements thus established between the two (or more) institutions involved are conceived as a structure for an ongoing, regular movement of students rather than as an ad hoc, once-off occurrence. (Baron & Smith, 8-9).

Significantly, considerable stress is put on the organisational aspects of study abroad dealing with the impact of such programmes on the form and extent of inter-institutional

cooperation between participating establishments, and the role played by these programmes in the stimulation of contacts and exchanges.

The data supplied by the SAEP suggests that only half of the participating institutions attribute the launch of their schemes to the deliberate initiative of either the host or the home institution. Possibly challenging Huden's claim that international institutions are irrelevant, Baron writes:

action by European level or international level agencies to promote or intensify international academic interchange seems to have had considerably more influence than the impact of national or regional agencies/policies on the motivation for establishing JSPs, (1987, 19)

and respondents felt that action by international agencies was of significantly greater importance than that of national policy in the establishment of programmes. Half the institutions covered in the survey considered themselves to be internationally oriented in a well-established way (i.e., were transnational actors), and 45% were seen as striving towards greater 'internationalisation'. Another significant factor is that the study abroad component was a compulsory part of 66% of the degree programmes, rising to 80% of British Study Abroad programmes (Baron & Smith, 27).

The research agenda that emerges from the work highlighted above returns to the structure-agency problem raised in Chapter One. As Oppen puts it:

who takes the initiative in an institution of higher education to get a foreign study programme off the ground? And what motivates them to do so? Do national or supra-national policies which promote study abroad have any effect at the practical level of academic programme development? (Baron & Smith, 28)

It thus appears that the fulcrum upon which a significant

amount of international education activity is balanced rests within individual institutions, and within those institutions appears to originate with certain institutional actors.

We were struck repeatedly by the importance of a charismatic leader in galvanizing a campus to focus on and understand study abroad..... Enormous resources are not required to make study abroad work; what are usually lacking where such a program does not exist are vision, a sense of commitment, and a clarion call to action. (Goodwin & Nacht, 1988, 60)

Although this same point fails to emerge very clearly from the SAEF analysis, Oppen in her separate commentary on the research observes:

the creation of these programmes could be attributed to the intervention of a limited number of persons. For over half of the programmes under evaluation, only one person or organisation was identified as the key initiator... Little credit was given to any person or agent outside the home or host institution for the respective JSPs. (Oppen, 1987, 33)

Interest in the growing pains of the study abroad aspect of international education now spans a wide range. Curiosity over the students' propensity to be mobile, and the forms through which their mobility may be channelled, leads to an interest in how and why individual institutions begin to organise mobility schemes between themselves (35).

As has been indicated above, study abroad as a specific form of international education, has begun to attract more research attention over the last few years. Existing material suggests that it is particularly amenable to analysis from both structural and institutional perspectives. It also encompasses a range of *orientations* and is aimed at fulfilling a variety of *functions*, most of which appear to be reflected in the conceptual and organisational characteristics of the programmes themselves. It is therefore suggested that study

abroad constitutes a particularly appropriate focus for the investigation undertaken by this thesis.

### Summary and Conclusion

This chapter, in a variety of ways, has posed the question 'what is international education?' It has done so in order to offer a fuller description than the one offered in Chapter One.

In the process, it has provided a range of criteria by which different types of international education may be compared across time and space. The macro and micro-level analyses of the next three chapters draw upon this chapter's explorations of various facets of the phenomenon.

Throughout this chapter, international education has been reviewed both conceptually and operationally. In the process, the terrain that international education inhabits has been mapped in greater detail, allowing different types of the phenomenon to be related to their contexts and to one another.

Within the process of developing a better understanding of international education, Part One of this chapter investigated the range of meanings attached to 'international'. Through insights derived from international relations, analysis was directed toward the range of values and ideas encompassed by "international". Thus conceptualisations of the international order, of interdependence and of integration, were deployed to further understand variations between US and European international education.

Part Two examined specific types of international education projects, tracing their institutional forms and orienta-

tions and raising questions concerning the limited capacity of international organisations to serve as delivery vehicles for international education. It was concluded that most international education will be supplied through national or regional conduits, and that international organisations are not the most efficient or popular means of delivering international education.

An argument common to both Parts One and Two of this chapter was that international education had to be understood as a consequence of developments in the international world system of economies, states and societies, rather than the idealistic precursor of greater global harmony. In other words, structural realism was juxtaposed with idealism in order to establish both contextual and causal factors affecting international education.

Chapter Two offers two classificatory approaches. The first relates to the comparative analysis of structural factors that make up the context within which international education develops. This approach allows for strategic, production and finance interpretations. It permits the distinction between political idealism and realism, and between geopolitical, functionalist, free trade and radical perceptions of the international order. It also suggested a distinction between functionalist and neo-functionalist integration and interdependence interpretations of international. The other classificatory scheme, applied to international education itself rather than the conditions that give rise to it, was proposed in Part Three.

Part Three set out to provide a comprehensive set of

criteria against which all varieties of international education could be placed (42). Beyond the minimalist notion that international education deliberately sets out physically or conceptually (often both) to transcend national boundaries, the assumption can be made that it is undertaken for affective, cognitive, vocational, utilitarian, ameliorative or defensive purposes.

The matrix presented in Part Three distinguishes between the *orientation*, *form* and *function* of international education.

Orientation refers to the different rationales that can be seen to 'drive' international education - nationalist, relativist, regiocentric and globalist. The orientations of US and European international education over time and in comparison with one another can now be traced along this axis of the matrix.

The function of international education can also be plotted on this matrix, allowing a distinction to be made between, say, international education which stresses knowledge of other areas and cultures, that which seeks to develop empathy, and that which imparts functional skills.

The third plane of the matrix focuses attention on the forms that international education might take - for example, curricular, student mobility, inter-institutional research, administrative and programme cooperation.

The matrix provides a framework of analysis that enables the researcher to go beyond such essentialist definitions as

international education [is] an umbrella term used to describe a variety of activities and programmes designed to encourage the flow of ideas and people across cultural and geographic boundaries," (Spaulding



& Colucci, 1982, 205),  
in a methodical and focused manner. The dimensions of the matrix will guide the analyses of the next three chapters.

The final part of this chapter presented the case that student mobility had become an important area of international education activity, both in itself and as a focus for research. It was suggested that undergraduate student mobility provided a convenient and multifaceted area of theory and practice within which many of the basic differences between US and European practices could be compared. The impact of economic and political agendas on this field of activity, and the ways in which key personnel are perceived as being critical to the establishment of an institutional commitment to international education (especially student mobility) relate directly to the theoretical concerns articulated in Chapter One.

Thus, overall, this chapter has provided a more elaborate conception of international education, and an analytic vocabulary that developed the tools for both the macro and the micro levels of analysis. The next two chapters are concerned with an account of structural and systemic factors in the development of undergraduate international education in the US and the EC.

## Footnotes

(1) At the 'implicit' level, acknowledging that the concept has a history and exploring some of the historical interpretations of international and internationalism will enable the complexity of international education to be better understood.

The longing for unification and integration in place of discord and strife is given substance in the Western tradition through a combination of Judaic and Hellenistic ideas (universalism and cosmopolitanism), the various Christian doctrines, and Islamic logic and scientific thought. Christendom's medieval Europeanism was based on a community of belief and believers, and the unity of the Church echoed the former unity of the Roman Empire. Scheler (1980, 162-3), suggests that Christianised Europeanism was characterised by its being based on the institutional forms of the Roman Empire. Such unity was manifested in an educational sense through the early universities at Toledo, Salerno, Bologna and Paris. This may have been a limited type of internationalism, but it did represent a considerable achievement prior to the ascendancy of the sovereign state.

Even after the rise of nation states, there were clear efforts to preserve parts of the old order by positing the existence of a world community of scholars and intellectuals who owed allegiance to the ideal of free and full intellectual enquiry rather than to local values and truths; hence the Republic of Letters. Clark Kerr's (1990) review of the 'internationalisation of learning' covers a wide spectrum of golden ages and venues of international education. They range from Sassanid Persia, India, and the Islamic world to Confucian China and the Grecian Academy. However, Kerr emphasises Europe (Christendom) where there was "one scholarly language... one religion... one curriculum... and one economy in terms of the orbits of commercial transactions," (Kerr, 1990, 7).

By the early 17th century, although it was increasingly recognised that Europe contained a multiplicity of states, there was still much discussion over the collectivity of Europe. Some of this discourse operated through the "developing metaphysical language of Enlightenment universalism," (Worsley, 1984, 268).

It might be objected that there is a contradiction in the use of the concept 'internationalism' before the emergence of the nation state as a sovereign community. For precisely this reason, Kerr seems to favour the term "cosmopolitanism". Once the universality of empire or religion was eroded, it was necessary to find some other basis for coexistence. The early days of the system of sovereign states not unnaturally gave rise to internationalist theories based on regulating the relations of sovereign states. The unity of Christendom that had been the focus of political thought for so long remained a reference point. Marsilius of Padua and Erasmus both sought unity within the framework of Christianity. For centuries the notion of a

unifying Christian idea was invoked - sometimes as a defence, as with Leibnitz who used it as a rallying factor against the Turks (Hinsley, 1963, 8).

The combination of the rise of the modern state and the Reformation, which erected barriers within the religious world of learning, altered the foundations of universalism. As religious internationalism was weakened (in the West), it began to be replaced by a kind of secular internationalism initially explored in the works of More and Bacon. This tradition was extended by Comenius, Rousseau, Franklin, Bentham and Kant in their several projects for federalism and perpetual peace. By the 1730s, the fading idea of Christendom began to be replaced by a new notion of Europe which allowed for the autonomy of its new states, but moderated that autonomy by stressing the unity of Europe. Saint-Simon and Comte underpinned this trend with their positivist philosophy of unstoppable universal progress (Kumar, 1978, Ch 1). This burgeoning new internationalism was nevertheless characterised by Eurocentrism and was largely limited to the intellectual elite of European societies.

Since Europe in the 19th century was experiencing a period of intense nationalism, it is not surprising that although talk of federalism persisted at the fringe of politics, the development of internationalist ideas was influenced from such non-political sources as Darwin's and Spencer's theories of evolution as well as Cobden's theories about free trade. Evolution combined with liberal humanism was propagated by J.S. Mill and T. Huxley, followed by Julian Huxley, the first Director of UNESCO who coined the phrase "evolutionary humanism". This trend in liberal social consciousness was paralleled by the development of marxist and socialist internationalism based on the materialist analysis of capitalist economies and international class interests.

In addition to works cited above, this historical overview drew on the following sources: Bereday & Lauwerys, (1965); Fraser & Brickman, (1968); Heater (1980); Huden (1977); Hutchins (1970); Leach (1969); Scanlon, (1960); Zweig (1967).

(2) A further consideration of the idealist position comes from Berger and Luckmann's suggestion that 'real factors' determine or regulate the conditions under which 'ideal factors' can operate in history, but they cannot affect the content of ideal factors. Society determines the presence (*Dasein*) but not the nature (*Sosein*) of ideas. The content of ideas and values is independent of socio-historical causation, and all that can be investigated by sociological analysis is the socio-historical selection of given ideas and values (1967, 19-20). In other words, 'international' can be invested with a variety of meanings, and since it happens that one or the other of them dominates at any given time, it has to be remembered that complementary or contradictory meanings lie beneath the surface, awaiting articulation by currently dormant or marginal interest groups.

(3) Mann's contention that the international sector has largely been left to bankers who accept the leading role of the USA prompts his observation "this is true internationalism, even if it has a pronounced American accent," (Mann, 196). Although he gives the impression that this is a relatively recent phenomenon, an earlier manifestation of the non-territoriality of capitalism is clear in Thomas Jefferson's remark, "Merchants have no country. The mere spot they stand upon does not constitute so strong an attachment as that from which they draw their gain," (Mueller, 1973, 118).

(4) For example,  
Capitalism was from the beginning an affair of the world economy and not of nation states... Capital has never allowed its aspirations to be determined by national boundaries. (Wallerstein, 1979, 19);  
and,  
internationalism (has served as an) anti-systemic force and also as a mode of participation in the system... (it) has often been a figleaf for imperialism. (*ibid.* 280-281).

There is, of course, a non-capitalist definition of international that emerges from Marxist and socialist thought; such globalism seeks to establish common class-based interests regardless of particularistic nationalism and regionalism.

(5) This will be seen to have direct relevance in Chapter Four, where the impact of the Adoninno Report and 'People's Europe' on Community educational policy will be assessed.

(6) See the earlier reference to Kirchner, Chapter One, Footnote 12. The establishment of the European Association for International Education in Amsterdam, December 1989, can be seen in this context, as can the professional networks now developing between ERASMUS, COMETT and TEMPUS organisers.

(7) Becker and Mehlinger suggest that the world's population can be organised into horizontal layers of transnational elites and vertical national units; it is often the case that international elites (jet set, social, business, intellectual and academic, and political) have regular communication and interactions among themselves that far surpass the intensity of contacts and degree of communication between them and non-elite groups within their own nations. (1968, 3-6)

Extrapolating from an argument made by Holly (1973), it is likely that globalising trends will be recognised by, to appeal to, and to benefit dominant (i.e., elite) rather than subordinate groups both across and within societies. Crises in the international economic and political order provide opportunities for revisions to elite global management techniques. One aspect of preparation for such management is international education.

(8) Krasner defines regimes as "the principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area," (Krasner, 1983, cited in Strange, 1988, 199).

(9) Eco-evolutionist beliefs centre on the notion of our biological capacity to develop new modes of cooperation when our collective survival is threatened. (The difficulties posed by residual "local" political imperatives are conveniently ignored.) Eco-reformists stress, not the biological imperative but sub-system interdependence - a new set of rules will evolve that will guide international conduct. This approach lies close to that of liberal neo-classical economics - some inequalities are inevitable, but oppressive and extreme ones are conducive to instability and are therefore the object of reform. The Egalitarian emphasis is on the political task implicit in the response to demands for equity and justice from below.

(10) Applying this in a concrete way to international education, the combination of two frequently linked facets, security and knowledge, will be recognisable to those familiar with such American material as Coombs' The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy, or the Strength Through Wisdom Presidential Commission report. An example of the currently popular combination of production and knowledge is provided by International Education: Cornerstone of Competition, (1986). As the criteria by which higher education was evaluated in the 1980s became more and more shaped by a competitive ethos, the relationship between the knowledge and production and finance structures became closer.

(11) Giddens, (1990), considers globalisation to be an underexplored concept in sociology, and locates it in a conceptual framework of time-space convergence where "complex relations between local involvements and interaction across distance... are more intense than in any previous period," (p.64).

(12) Whereas Hans (1965) approaches the history of international education in terms of ideas, Huden (1970), focuses on the emergence of organisations that projected a concept of education across and beyond national borders.

(13) Alan Smith and James Perkins have employed this phrase on different occasions; Smith uses it extensively in his contribution to Barber, Altbach and Meyers, (1984), pp.115-129.

A good example of early *mobilité sauvage* which is not frequently cited, appears to have been well entrenched in pre-Conquest Byzantium:

..the leading figure [at Constantinople University] was Professor Bryennius..who introduced Western studies into the university curriculum. He eagerly welcomed Western students. Indeed, the future Pope Pius II was to write later that in his youth any Italian with pretensions to scholarship always claimed to have studied at Constantinople, (Runciman,

(14) Professor Iriye, Chair of International History at Harvard, at a lecture entitled 'Culture and the International Order' given at the London School of Economics on May 11th, 1992, argued strongly to establish ICIC as the precursor of a whole range of present concerns over education for international cooperation and cross-cultural understanding. Although a minor event in the context of late 1930s militarism, the meetings of ICIC, and of the associated National Committees of International Cooperation did publicly establish an interest in exchange and cooperation. To that extent, ICIC and the National Committees are significant standard-bearers for cultural internationalism and awareness of interdependence as essential elements in the construction of a peaceful international order. Without these bodies, the promotion of exchanges and cultural internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s would have been less organised, and the advent of cultural diplomacy would have been retarded. Iriye therefore identifies these bodies as performing a trailblazing function which the UN Charter and UNESCO subsequently profited from.

Professor Iriye's comments further illuminate the discussion of Realist and Idealist perceptions of the international order in Part One of this Chapter:

... cultural internationalism has survived two World Wars and the Cold War... it's a survivor. It is as important as geopolitical and military-strategic aspects of the international order. There has always been a challenge to the security and economic frameworks of the international [concept]. In the last twenty years we've had economic internationalism and ecological internationalism, but they are simply new versions of an older sense of the global. They all [act as] reminders that beyond the dictates of national geopolitical and economic interests there exists a universality of shared values and concerns.

(15) Whether or not Margaret Thatcher's "Bruges Speech" in September 1988, and the subsequent establishment of the Bruges Group contributed to the systematic study of the problems of integration and federalism must remain a matter of continuing debate.

(16) A dissertation search at the Institute of Education Library failed to find any M.A. or Ph.D. dissertations on the educational activities of UNESCO over the last twenty years.

(17) Perhaps a more powerful axiom is Martin Buber's 'the opposite of war is not peace but talk.'

(18) Adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its 18th Session in Paris, November, 1974.

(19) Study abroad is presented as a largely American phenomenon whose progenitor, according to Burn (1985, 32) dates from the pioneering efforts of Smith College in setting up a Junior Year Abroad programme in 1923.

(20) Susan Strange has pointed out that international organisations serve three rather different purposes - strategic, adaptive and symbolic, and that many can serve all three simultaneously - strategic in acting as instruments of US restructuring, adaptive in helping the US, the UK, Japan, etc., to enjoy economic growth and political autonomy, and symbolic in that they allowed and expressed a universal yearning for a better world without doing anything substantial to bring it about. (Strange, in Krasner (1983), 342).

(21) The following selection of organisations associated with different aspects of international education gives an idea of the range of activities involved: Institute of International Education, Council for International Educational Exchange, Society for Intercultural Education Training and Research, International Studies Association, European Cultural Foundation, National Council for International Studies Professionals and Administrators, National Association of Foreign Study Advisors, Joint Committee for Foreign Languages and International Studies and European Association of International Education Advisers.

(22) An interesting account of UNESCO's attempt to provide a framework for the regional coordination of educational activities in the field of equivalence, education for cross-cultural understanding and research coordination is provided by Rene Ochs, (1981). The Council of Europe, OECD and the EEC are mentioned once in passing and all in a single sentence, while pride of place goes to the establishment of CEPES.

(23) See also Hans Lowbeer's separate entry, *Internationalisation of Higher Education - Sweden: a Case Study* in the same volume, pp. 2306 - 2306. The general, overarching goal of the Swedish higher education internationalisation programme was to foster international understanding and awareness of global interdependence; this was supplemented by a desire to develop international solidarity (given substance though financial and other assistance to developing countries); the third goal at the idealistic end of the spectrum was the development of an open-minded, pluralistic attitude that can tolerate ambiguity. Recognising that it would be hard to assess attainment of such objectives, three additional and rather more pragmatic goals were adumbrated; employability in the international labour market (Lowbeer, with characteristic 1970s coyness over such matters writes "thus even the demands of the labour market are arguments for an internationalised education," [p.2303]); an orientation towards the future; and the development of specific skills enabling satisfactory functioning in an international context.

(24) Some of the terminology used by Lamy echoes the schools of thought within international relations reviewed in Part One. However, his usage varies slightly, so a direct parallel does not always exist.

(25) In a discussion with Valerie Woolston, Director of the University of Maryland, (College Park) International Education Services, and 1988-89 President of NAFSA, she suggested

that the stress on competence was beginning to be balanced by concerns over America's ability to respond flexibly to the changes in bipolar superpower antagonism initiated by Gorbachev over the past few years. (March 9th, 1989)

In a more recent discussion with Dr. Martin Limbird, Director of the Center for International Programs, Ball State University, Indiana, the 1990-91 President of NAFSA, a very similar point was made by him in the context of the Gulf Crisis and the degree of U.S. ignorance of Arab affairs. (March 2nd, 1991 at the U.S. Study Abroad Advisors Workshop in London).

(26) Reminiscent of the claims and counter-claims made in regard to sociology's terrain and problematics during the 1970s and '80s

(27) Laska and Bailey's (1972) discussion of the categories of international education can be employed to illustrate this plane of the matrix. For them, international education is a *priori* education for international understanding and is divided into cognitive and affective categories which are graduated through three levels. First comes the 'fraternity of man' orientation in which the problem of reconciling national and universal loyalties is raised. This was explored by Dewey in Education and Democracy (1916):

[national loyalty must be reconciled] with superior devotion to the things which unite men in common ends, irrespective of political boundaries... Is it possible for an educational system to be conducted by a national state and yet the full ends of the educative process not be restricted, constrained and corrupted? (Extract from Documents, International Education, viii, 1, 1978, 33)

The second orientation, in ascending order of desirability, is 'education for world citizenship' which comes in minimalist and maximalist versions. The former is concerned to foster a positive attitude toward international mechanisms for the mediation of tensions between nations and the improvement of relations between states in a system still based on sovereign states. The maximalist version goes beyond the existing system and adopts the viewpoint of World Government. The final, most desirable type of international education revolves round world citizenship and fosters a cosmopolitanism going beyond the limits of group and national loyalties. Clearly this panegyric can be fitted into the schema, placing it according to both function and orientation.

A similar positioning can be effected with Padavil's "global education is... a process that develops skills and competencies essential to the understanding and eventual participation in this increasingly complex and interconnected world," (Padavil, 1987).

(28) The training/education issue will resurface in Chapter Four in connection with the legal aspect of European Communi-



ty educational policy. Romiszowski (1981, 3 & 31), suggested, in broad terms, that training is akin to following a tightly fenced path, in order to reach a predetermined goal at the end of it, whereas education is to wander freely in the fields to left or right of this path - preferably with a map. More recently, Unwin (1991) has explored the connections between vocational education, training and international competitiveness.

(29) As Burn pointed out at the beginning of the 1980s, research on international education has no single disciplinary focus; it can involve education, sociology, economics, psychology, international relations, public administration and law. Support for further research seems to be neither widespread nor grounded in any particular discipline, though as all varieties of international education programmes become more established there is likely to be a concomitant growth of interest in their mode of implementation, their aims and their achievements. Hopefully, this will encourage the growth of a 'research community', in much the same way that expansion has already led to the emergence of a number of professional associations (e.g., NAFSA, NCISPA, AACRAO, in the US and EAIE in Europe) for those involved in various aspects of international education policy and practice.

The amount of research in international education may be limited due to its relative newness, and because its practitioners have thus far been too busy with concrete issues to have much time left to raise searching questions as to the meaning and impact of their activities. Cerych and Smith (1985, iii-iv) lament "the - regrettably - relatively small number of researchers active in the field". Another possible explanation for what appears to be an under-researched area must lie in the eclectic nature of the phenomenon itself, reviewed in earlier parts of this Chapter.

Interesting patterns are to be found in the few select bibliographies published in the field of international education. The view taken by Altbach, Kelly & Lulat (1985, 26-36) that the bulk of research topics are grounded in micro-level, student-oriented topics is largely confirmed. These include: How to make one's foreign sojourn less problematic, whether that be in terms of cultural adjustment, credit transfer, equivalence of qualification, visa and entry difficulties and finances.

In terms of monographic material, the top five categories of theoretical and empirical work on international education are, from the bottom, institutional policies on foreign students, statistical references, case studies on specific institutions, study abroad programmes and, at the top, foreign aid, technical assistance and the overseas student question. However, this category is artificially inflated by the inclusion of ten publications (out of a total of nineteen titles listed) by the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee on the overseas student question.

Using Lulat's bibliography and sorting by subject matter, the top five categories of articles and published works from

1975-1983 encompass, from the bottom up: adaptation to "foreignness", cross-cultural issues, a general category dealing mostly with overseas student questions and mobility issues, specific nationality needs and, the most prolific field, discipline-based materials ranging from dentistry and nursing through chemistry and engineering to library science (Lulat & Cordaro, 1984). Lulat comments:

overwhelmingly the literature continues to be dominated by two principal sets of research concerns: those of a sociopsychological character, exemplified by studies pertaining to the cross-cultural consequences of studying abroad, and those dealing with how best to help international students to adapt and to succeed in an alien institutional and cultural climate (Lulat & Cordero, 300)

Opper echoes this with her declaration on the

paucity of research on foreign study in a broad sense, beyond studies restricted to foreign students' experiences of their host countries (1987, 5).

The Baron and Bachmann bibliography of study abroad in Western Europe is prefaced by similar concerns. Considering the amount of political and educational concern European international education has already engendered;

much of the literature on foreign students is not pertinent to our focus as it deals with educational, sociological, psychological and political aspects of student flows from the developing countries to the industrialised countries in Western Europe and North America (1987, 101-2).

Spaulding and Colucci's review of research trends in American international education identifies the two areas that have attracted the most research interest as technical and/or educational assistance or cooperative programmes, and the foreign student phenomenon. They lament the dearth of material on organised foreign study programmes, though this is beginning to be redressed by work carried out since the mid-1980s (Baron & Smith 1987; Carlson, Burn & Useem, 1991; Goodwin & Nacht, 1988). As an indicator of the trends in European research on international education the Baron & Smith Report repays a closer look, providing some balance in a field dominated by American material:

American researchers are responsible for the bulk of the literature to date - our guess is that perhaps 70% of the research uses North American data and is by scholars in North America, (Altbach, Kelly & Lulat, 1985, 23).

- (30) ..study abroad [has a] major impact in terms of students' international learning, interests and career aims..We believe that it is the internationalization of the undergraduate experience (through study abroad) which can have the greatest impact upon American society in terms of lifelong interests and values, (A National Mandate for Education Ab-

road: Getting on with the Task, Washington D.C.: National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad, May, 1990, 3)

(31) In the USA, both at the micro and macro levels, the figures bandied around echo the original ERASMUS targets of 10%. For example, at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst both Barbara Burn and Maryelise Lamet were setting targets of between 10-15% for study abroad in the early '90s. (Source: interviews June 1989). In Exchange 2000: International Leadership for the Next Century, Washington, D.C.: Liaison Group for International Educational Exchange, 1990, and in the even more recent A National Mandate for Education Abroad: getting on with the Task, Washington, D.C.: National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad, May 1990, the targets being set are for 10% of U.S. undergraduates to have had study abroad experience by 1995 and 20-25% by 2008.

(32) Since the 1984 Edition, Open Doors has tended to concentrate entirely on the characteristics of foreign student populations in the USA, and data concerning US students abroad is less easy to come by.

On a more local level Boston University's London Internship Programme (revolves around work placements) and currently has 800 enrollments per annum, up from 250 just two years ago (1986-7). (In conversation with Dr Maurice Vile, Programme Director, June 6th, 1990). Richmond College started an internship-based semester abroad programme for US students in Fall 1989 which attracted over 10% of its regular Junior Year Abroad total, and this rose to 15% in Spring 1990.

(33) Valerie Woolston also indicated that the greatest enthusiasm for study abroad currently being expressed at the University of Maryland, College Park was located in the Department of Engineering which had quickly and eagerly responded to requests from International Education Services for study abroad proposals. (34) Parallel American arguments are being made even more forcefully now than in previous decades: "we believe that it is the internationalization of the undergraduate experience which can have the greatest impact on American society in terms of lifelong interests and values." (A National Mandate for Education Abroad, 3).

(35) A major inhibitor of expanded international education opportunities is the lack of institutional commitment to a readily available international dimension in undergraduate education. How that commitment comes about and which external and internal factors are brought into play in the development of such a commitment are questions explored in Chapter Five. Although undergraduate student mobility is an increasingly favoured option in institutional strategies, being a tangible manifestation of commitment to international education, it involves inter-institutional relationships and contacts which are costly (in both resources and time) to set up and maintain.

In analysing how the SAPs under review came into being,

Baron states that in 21 out of the 38 programmes (55%) an external or third party initiative was considered as having given an important impetus to the establishment of the programmes (Baron, 1987, Ch.2).

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

#### Objectives

Previous chapters established a particular way of understanding international education as a reflection of changes in the international order. They suggested that international education was sensitive to the range of *perceptions* of "international", as well as 'realities'. As a consequence, certain orientations of international education can be seen as originating in particular locations under specific circumstances.

Chapters Three and Four will emphasise those historical and structural conditions that can be shown to have influenced US and European international education. These chapters will offer two types of argument to show how international education is influenced by strategic, political and socio-cultural factors. They will focus on changes in the position of the country or region concerned in relation to the world economic and political order, and they will investigate sociologically significant elements of the domestic environment in the two areas. Institutional and micro-level dimensions of influence will be considered in Chapter Five. This chapter focuses on the complex interplay of factors that produce a recognisably American variant of international education.

#### Argument

The chapter argues that the *orientation, function and forms* adopted by US international education over the past four decades have shifted in relation to significant changes

in the security, production and finance sectors. Thus, the continuing argument of this thesis - that national and regional characteristics influence the patterns of international education - is sustained.

Although it is argued that the changing relationship of the USA to the world economy and the international political order is of primary significance, the chapter incorporates other important factors. It therefore links two differently focused but related "essays in general explanation - the slow but perceptible rhythms of groups and groupings, ... economic systems, states, societies," on the one hand and "*l'histoire événementielle*: surface disturbances... a history of brief, rapid, nervous fluctuations, [...] burning with [individuals'] anger, dreams and illusions," on the other (Braudel, 1966, 21 - 22).

The chapter argues that the orientations and functions of US international education echo domestic political concerns with strategic vulnerability and sensitivity to the growth of economic interdependence. Chapter Four provides a counterpoint in arguing that EC international education is largely integration-oriented.

It is argued that the interdependence theme in US international education gradually rises to prominence alongside the national security justifications so characteristic of early advocacy discourse. Using the matrix categories from Chapter Two, early US international education was "nationalist-ethnocentric" during the period when US hegemony was associated with military and intelligence dominance in a bipolar, Cold War world. It became noticeably more

"polycentric" in the 1970s, reflecting an inward-looking national mood, and a domestic concern with cultural and ethnic diversity. In its current phase, American international education has become "regiocentric and interdependence-oriented" as the US came to terms with complex interdependence in a global marketplace. Now international education seeks to address the embarrassing discrepancy between the global commercial and economic vital interests of the US and its domestically-oriented educational system.

### Structure

US international education is analysed in three ways:

1. the terms in which it is conceptualised and discussed ('discourse');
2. the means by which it is advocated and promoted;
3. the dominant forms in which (and to whom) it has been supplied.

For narrative convenience, the format adopted to examine the evolution of American international education is a simple one based broadly on decades. However, the pitfalls of a linear sequence which fails to distinguish adequately between the passage of time, structural conditions and mediating 'local' characteristics have to be avoided.

Firstly, each shift of emphasis in international education is related to changes in the position of the United States in the global economic and political system. Secondly, significant themes and practices are identified and traced from one period to the next, highlighting continuities and changes in American international education. Thirdly, there is a focus on 'American exceptionalism' - those aspects of American social structure and political culture that appear

unique and arguably have a significant influence on the organisational characteristics of American international education.

Part One briefly sketches the period under review, stressing positional shifts in America's strategic and economic global relationships. Part Two selects indigenous cultural and sociological factors that impinge on the higher education system, indicating how they affect the character of American international education. Part Three surveys key developments in the period 1945 - 1970 concentrating on the link between international education and political conceptions of the national interest. In Part Four the 1970s shift from political to economic criteria is analysed, while Part Five concentrates upon the trends emerging during the 1980s.

#### Part One - Post-War America and the Emergence of International Education

The purpose of Part One is to provide a context within which the detail of subsequent sections can be placed. It is argued below that the development of international education must be understood - at least partially - as a reflection of changes in the position of the US relative to the global economy and the international political order.

##### *Section One: The US and the World System*

The popular sentiment of the early 1940s was that America had "come of age". Yet many modern historians suggest that it was also true that her "rise to globalism" (resulting from victory in a world war she initially refrained from entering) caught her by surprise (Ambrose, 1985; Carroll & Noble, 1977; Kammen, 1980; O'Neill, 1986). Realisation that



pre-eminence brought in its train vulnerability, that there were limits to power, and that power to destroy was not coterminous with power to control, all came as a surprise. Coming to terms with these ironies and paradoxes, and learning how to counterbalance what Senator Fulbright called "the arrogance of power" has absorbed the US over the past forty five years. These reactions constitute a nodal point in the shaping of the American consciousness from which international education sprang.

The suggestion (Heater, 17) that the development of international education will be shaped by the home country's perception and experience of international events and trends, and the relationship of that country to the rest of the world clearly applies to the US:

Before World War II the United States was about as self-sufficient as any great nation is ever likely to be, especially in such basic items as energy resources, steel production, and agriculture... [the irony was that]... America had far more military power in the eighties than she had in the late thirties, but she was less secure... (Ambrose, xv)

To understand the early postwar international education activities, a clearer understanding of America's view of itself in relation to the world is necessary:

By common consent this was the greatest and freest country on earth, with a mandate, possibly of divine origin, to uplift the rest of the world...not in the way of the bad old imperial states, but through example. (O'Neill, 4)

Two factors carried weight - American confidence and optimism, and the fact that America was by far the richest nation in a poor world. As Americans became more absorbed in the growth of their prosperity they became less and less interested in the outside world, although the Truman doctrine and

the Marshall Plan were accepted as necessary aspects of America's outlying defences against the communist threat. Nevertheless, some Republicans of the 1950s, far from offering a retreat towards isolationism, were proposing to go beyond containment to even greater internationalism. "Now that the [British] lion could roar no more, the eagle must scream in its place," (O'Neill, 69).

Yet very little domestic infrastructural support existed for this new globalism, especially in what Strange terms "the knowledge sector" (1). Television in the early fifties carried hardly any news, and interest in foreign policy was at an all-time low just prior to the Korean War (O'Neill, 117).

The Korean War, and the launch of Sputnik in the 1950s, the Berlin and Cuba crises of the early 1960s, and the ubiquitous arms race all raised concerns about vulnerability and insecurity. In 1956 Vice-Admiral Rickover charged that poor educational practices endangered national security; a year later, with the Soviet satellite in orbit, doubts about the quality of American education were further fuelled and a new "education gap = missile gap" equation permeated the thinking of many influential Americans. In 1958, in a rather tense atmosphere occasioned by public concern over Sputnik's launch eight months earlier, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act. Congress authorised almost a billion dollars of expenditure to provide low-cost loans for college students and matching-basis grants to the states to improve the teaching of science, mathematics and foreign languages (2).

O'Neill observes that Eisenhower and Kennedy dealt with

American fears and disquiet in different ways. In the face of repeated crises and interventions,

incomprehension was part of the [American] problem... Americans yearned for the good old days of absolute security. Some hoped to restore that blessed state through unlimited military spending, but Eisenhower knew this was a delusion; America would never have that kind of security again and the effort to get it could only lead to bankruptcy or, as he always said, a garrison state... However, many had come to feel that American dominance in every field was the ordained state of affairs and therefore each setback, however commonplace, every decline, however relative, was considered unnatural. Kennedy's rhetoric was based on this notion of limitless capacity - and the resultant setbacks were to puncture this overconfidence even further. (O'Neill, 280 & 285)

Davis, (1984), provides an insight into how American political and economic sensitivity to shifts and changes in the international system became intertwined. He delineates three main phases in the internationalisation of the US economy, but starts by suggesting that up until the 1960s the US economy was virtually autarchic, thriving on a huge and expanding domestic market with high rates of capital accumulation and a low percentage of GNP involved in international trade. Since then, the three phases can be characterised in the following way: in the 1960s, the Americans imported cheap, labour-intensive consumer goods and cheap electronics; in the 1970s, the economy was deeply affected by the rising costs of imported energy; in the 1980s, the US became increasingly dependent on rising levels of imported capital goods and high technology products. In four decades the US has shifted from being the world's largest lender to becoming the world's greatest borrower. These trends testify to relative changes in the economic dimension of American power, while leaving political and military aspects unaffected for

the moment.

The link between these economic trends and their political consequences is argued by Kennedy, (1988), who suggests that once great powers lose their economic footing the downward slide cannot be long delayed. There is a tendency to compensate for economic vulnerability by increasing expenditure on military strength, thus accelerating the ratchet effect on productive investment. Kennedy quotes Halberstam on the nature of the threat that the Japanese social and economic system poses to America; "this is the most difficult challenge...a much harder and more intense competition than the political-military one with the Soviet Union," (Kennedy, 465). Japanese pressure is just one aspect of long-term shifts in the relative position of the USA in the world system, as postwar assumptions of bipolarity are reassessed in the face of new uncertainties prompted by a combination of Asian and European threats and the ending of the Cold War.

The interplay between domestic and international considerations establishes a context within which the development of postwar international education can be sketched in the following section. Detailed explorations of the interplay come in subsequent parts of this chapter.

*Section Two: The Development of Postwar International*

*Education*

This thesis concurs with Hutchins, (1970), that "governments will promote international education when it seems to help their national [standing and capability] and will neglect to do so when it does not" (Hutchins, 3). This section offers an overview of shifts in the orientation of US international education since 1945, arranged according to six

distinctive phases of orientation.

Various attempts to schematise the pattern of development of US international education have been made. Spaulding & Colucci, (1982), and Goodwin & Nacht, (1988), agree that initially technical assistance programmes were influential in the first few years after the war, lending a "service to the nation" orientation to activities in the field.

From the late 1950s through to the late 1960s the development of area studies programmes occupied centre stage in US international education. Increasing numbers of foreign students on American campuses characterise the 1970s for Goodwin & Nacht, though this thesis argues that significant shifts in the discourse of international education at this time took place for reasons unrelated to the presence of foreign students. From the 1970s on, Goodwin & Nacht's investigation stresses the enormous growth of study abroad programmes that became available in American higher education. This expansion of the study abroad market, and its growing impact on the undergraduate sector, reaching right down to Community Colleges is indeed significant, but *form*, to use an element of the matrix offered in Chapter Two, was not the only important change within US international education over the last few decades.

Though aspects of others' classificatory schemes are helpful, the thesis now offers a different designation of the phases of development. American international education was initially concerned with the political and military aspects of Pax Americana. Subsequently, it became rather more focused on the loss of its virtually unchallenged economic dominance

(in much of the advocacy literature this was somewhat coyly entitled 'the growth of interdependence'), and the need to find an appropriate educational response to a perceived decline in economic competitiveness and functional competence.

The first phase in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War is characterised by the Fulbright Act of 1946 which Burn suggested was the academic and intellectual equivalent of the Marshall Plan (Burn, 1980, 1). Coombs (1964), and Groennings (1987), suggest that the immediate post-war focus was not economic. The second phase of the 1950s has clear connections with the origins and development of the Cold War, and finds its symbol in the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Here international education appears in the clear and unequivocal service of the national interest defined in military and geo-political terms. This orientation continues, subject only to minor modifications and shifts, throughout the 1960s, (third phase), when a shift into cultural pluralism and sensitivity occurs reflecting such major issues on the domestic agenda as the Civil Rights movement and ethnic minority assertiveness, as well as the growing involvement in Vietnam.

The fourth phase of the 1970s emerges after a brief lull in international consciousness. The oil crisis of 1973, fears of overpopulation and finite energy resources, and the chastening experience of discovering the limits of US military power in SE Asia combine to produce a period characterised by a shift away from the narrower definitions of national interest toward a concern with interdependence. At this point the distinction between domestic and international became

blurred, as evidenced by the outburst of new 'education for global awareness' initiatives on American campuses.

The fifth phase of activity and discourse during the late 1970s and early 1980s, is characterised by economic recession, the rise of Reaganomics, the manifest R&D and production successes of the Asian capitalist economies and the resultant new agenda of economic competitiveness and survival. The justification for international perspectives in this period is couched almost exclusively in pragmatic and realist terms, and there is a tendency to typecast previous orientations as idealistic, naive and rhetorical.

In the 1980s a new orientation emerges, constituting an embryonic sixth phase. The evidence for this comes from a variety of sources - conference agenda, institutional literature, bulletin items and programme enrollment trends. As professional schools and business education became overtly committed to an international component (i.e. study abroad), the programme emphasis has shifted from general cultural exposure plus classroom experience abroad to include an occupational dimension, or internship experience. This reflection of the 'new vocationalism' in American tertiary education and the utilitarian orientation of the undergraduate student body also marks a significant departure in the *forms* and *functions* of international education.

In their discussion of the motivations for study abroad, Altbach, Kelly and Lulat (1985) suggested that in contrast to the relatively clear professional and economic rationales evinced by foreign students coming to study in the core industrial nations, the students from industrial nations go

abroad for cultural enrichment, linguistic practice, and 'just' for the experience of living in another environment. By the 1990s, however, it is no longer possible to argue that the motivation of US study abroad students is necessarily "more personal and cultural than it is professional or economic", (Altbach, Kelly & Lulat, 15).

Before examining these phases in greater detail, certain structural and cultural characteristics of American society must be incorporated into the range of factors influencing the orientations, functions and forms of international education. The next section considers selected sociological variables that will be shown to influence American international education, including the agency through which it is delivered - the higher education system.

### Summary

Part One has presented an account of the US as the dominant international actor in the global system from the end of the Second World War to the end of the 1980s. Shifts from a political to an economic perception of national security, (both are realist), as the US-dominated international order became less responsive to strategic and military power were noted. In the second Section, phases in the development of US international education were identified and were linked to international and domestic factors.

By the late 1970s a range of evidence points to economic interdependence being perceived as a new factor in the hitherto unchallenged US political and economic pattern of dominance. Coinciding with this new emphasis on the economic was a disciplinary shift from languages, humanities and social science faculties (the answer to 'yesterday's impera-



tive' of political and strategic security definitions of national interest) towards courses reflecting international business and a 'globalised' economy. Current rationales for international education are 'conservatively' international and emphasise national *economic* interests.

## Part Two - Structural Characteristics and Underlying Values

A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties.. It has in it some of the secret workings of national life. It reflects, while seeking to remedy, the failings of national character. (Sir Michael Sadler, quoted in Mallinson, 1)

To continue the investigation of differences in US and EC international education, Part Two identifies and discusses those features of the US higher education system that:

- a) appear to be characteristically American, particularly when compared with European practices, and
- b) are likely to impact upon the way in which US international education is formulated, publicised and delivered.

The shape and character of American international education cannot be solely attributed to national shifts of position on the global stage and their domestic echoes and consequences. Other intervening variables have to be considered. Those elements of the American system of higher education associated with its market orientation and relationship to the state are seen as significant, and it is argued that these set certain parameters in terms of international education development and practice. A noteworthy area of American political culture - democratic, citizenship values - are also held to have identifiable outcomes as far as contemporary international education theory and practice are concerned.

In the first section, salient characteristics of the US system of higher education are briefly examined, with a foot-noted excursus concerning American exceptionalism. The second section concerns itself with those characteristics of American higher education that encourage a certain *form* of international programme development. For example, the course-based, modular system enables single, 'internationally-orien-

ted' units to be integrated into an existing programme. The third section identifies two ideological factors present in American society and shows their impact on the nature of international education.

i) Features of American Higher Education

The USA maintains an educational system which is:

probably more diverse, disparate, decentralised, and dynamic than any other in the world. This 'system' depends little upon national government to make educational policy or to provide financial support for education institutions. (Guthrie & Bodenhausen, 215)

This devolved arrangement consigns authority to state and local level, resulting in fifty systems of public, tax-supported education (lower and higher), and "as if this were not sufficiently complex, there exists a parallel system of private institutions", (p. 215). In 1991 this accounts for approximately 44% of the higher education institutions in the country, disproportionately skewed towards the four year colleges, since two year colleges are overwhelmingly state-funded. Approximately 3,500 colleges and universities enrol more than 13.5 million students, 78% of whom are in public institutions (3). The backbone of the post-secondary system is made up of four-year liberal arts colleges, both public and private, and these are supplemented by the major universities offering post-graduate study in a variety of fields.

Compared with most other industrially advanced nations, the role that American national government plays in education is very restricted. Education was a function constitutionally denied to the federal authorities at the birth of the American state. Responsibility for higher education at state level is usually carried by the State Board of Higher

Education, or a Board of Regents. These boards operate within policy boundaries created by the State Legislature. The Federal Government contributes only 15% of higher education revenues, though its influence on education policy "is disproportionate to this level of financing," (Guthrie & Bodenhause, 230). Federal policies are enacted by Congress, administered by the Department of Education, and implemented through state and local education agencies. Most states have a tripartite differentiation of state universities, state colleges, and community colleges. Once such American political conventions are established, a prominent theme in US international education advocacy, discussed in the next subsection becomes much clearer.

#### *Demanding a Federal Lead*

From Coombs, Burn, Lambert, Perkins, Kerr, and many others over the years, can be heard a lament summarised by President Oster of Illinois State University that:

the US still does not have a coherent, clear-cut coordinated policy on international education...we have been groping for ways to clarify and finance the proper federal role in support of language and other international studies, for further development of exchange programs, and for improving American competence in foreign affairs. (IIE Newsletter, 9/86, 15)

Recalling the range of initiatives and administrative arrangements he discovered upon appointment to the post of Assistant Secretary, Coombs posed the question: "who's in charge here?" concluding that "our national effort is inadequate and disorganised to the point of being chaotic", (Coombs, 1964, 55). He stressed the "overriding need for unified policy guidance and coordination of activities" (Coombs, 1964, 53). This emphasis on the need for a federal lead is of particular significance in matters of internation-

al education, since the national interest will be accorded low priority by smaller political units with more parochial concerns. The American conception of the State, and the relationship of the local to the national clearly provides a challenge to those desirous of securing federal support for international education (4).

It is in relation to this exceptionalism (at the opposite extreme, and equally "exceptional" stands the Swedish experience of developing a higher profile for international education), that Clark Kerr remarked:

although international education is not solely the responsibility of the federal government, there is a great need for federal leadership and effective national programs, (in Burn, 1980, xxi).

Over a decade later, little progress appears to have been made in this direction, though the dynamism and activity of such a decentralised system continues to produce an impressive tally of international education initiatives, prompting the question: how does a nation become the quantitative leader in international education without sustained national or institutional policies? (Reichard 302)

It is clear that the best method of triggering a positive state response to international education has been to link it with the major prerogative of all states, including decentralised ones - national security. But in the circumstances described above, namely those of federal reluctance to get too involved, it can be seen that a good reserve position for international educators is to stress the one thing that business takes seriously - success in the (increasingly internationalised) market. Calling for a federal lead in such a market-oriented system not only goes

against the political idiom, but also might not result in a more effective delivery of the product.

This argument is advanced in a different context by Burton Clark (1977) in his cross-national consideration of the most effective modes of educational administration. He concludes that in the USA higher education is becoming more and more intertwined with government: "it moves inside government, becomes...a bureau within public administration," but that other societies have much more experience with closer relationships between State and higher education and there are many

points from abroad [that are not] inherently transferable, since there is always heavy linkage to other items within the matrix and *context becomes everything*. (22, emphasis added)

This sub-section has outlined the decentralised, market-oriented US system of higher education. It has also remarked upon the tension between federal and local which affects the development of US international education, and the strategies adopted by its proponents. These constitute steps in the argument demonstrating influences on the orientations, functions and forms of US international education.

#### ii) Factors in the development of academic programmes

Asserting the need for a political economy of higher education designed to link the political, the economic and the organisational, (5), Burton Clark (1984) points out that the relationship between these elements can sit anywhere on the spectrum from tight, integrated and unitary structures to loose, autonomous, aggregates of interactions. The American system of higher education inhabits the latter end of the spectrum where public and private institutions strive compe-

titively to enhance their status, position and power.

The thesis therefore suggests that this spectrum can be viewed as one of markets *versus* politics (overlooking the politics of the market). The 'bottom-up' coordination of American education through market transactions and exchange is located at the opposite end of the spectrum to the more characteristically European 'top-down' coordination of educational activity by machinery endowed with the political authority of the state (6).

Change and innovation in educational systems will be influenced by such basic orientations. This truism is explored in depth in a volume containing another commentary by Clark (Cerych, 1986). In the American system, changes and reforms are generated lower down in the system; they occur incrementally and they tend to be limited in scope and expectations. Local initiatives depend considerably on the efforts of institutional leaders and are motivated by market-driven and market-responsive considerations. Public and private institutions vie between and among one another for survival, viability and status, and changes occur in an unplanned and piecemeal fashion. If reforms and changes spread through the system, they do so by means of diffusion and imitation. The advantages of such a mode of change are pointed out by Sabatier:

in general, reforms that affected only a small and potentially isolable part of the system.....faced a much easier task than those... which sought a system-wide change. (Cerych & Sabatier, 1986, 22)

Hence, in the American system, certain reforms are more easily started - they can start *anywhere* - and, once started, they are more readily accepted since they do not

threaten the totality of the system (7). In an observation which neatly underscores a major difficulty encountered in this particular research project, Clark writes:

Given the diffuse nature of the system, systematic announcement of innovation can be made to the interested public. *The analyst of reform faces a situation in which there is no organised information available on all intentions to reform, let alone on success and failure.* (1984, 262, emphasis added)

Such talk of markets, however, should not obscure the realities of power and bias within a market system. Schattschneider (1963), observed that different groups proposing varieties of reform and change are not equally ranked. The more influential groups are better placed simply because their concerns are closer to the accepted consensus (8). It is suggested that this will impact on international education advocacy in circumstances where it may be perceived as marginal, threatening, unrealistic, unpatriotic, or irrelevant.

Burton strengthens this assertion through his arguments that

the knowledge work of higher education is carried out in every country in a differentiated structure that divides and allocates tasks within and among institutions. Differentiated structures are mobilisations of bias, a face of power. They strongly mobilise some viewpoints and group interests by giving them a foothold..while excluding others from the agenda of action. (1978a, 21-22)

This section therefore suggests that the degree to which the American emphasis on general rather than specialised education might influence developments in international education should also be taken into account. In contrast to Europe, where even professional education in law and medicine, is offered at undergraduate level alongside less voca-



tional courses, two distinct tiers have operated in the American university organisation. The first encompasses general education, with limited specialisation, leading to a first degree which does not in most cases certify any particular professional competence. Specialisation occurs at the second tier range of graduate and professional schools that can only be entered after completion of the first level. Hierarchy by prestige ranking is partially based on the perceived value of institutional output - for example, where are graduates placed in the labour market? Sector ranking is characteristic of US higher education, and parity of esteem is neither expected nor feasible.

These considerations have to be kept in mind as factors affecting the manner in which international education developed within the different sectors of American higher education. The earliest manifestations, in curricular terms, were the specialised Area Studies Centers, but following this early phase the most rapid and successful diffusion has been in the undergraduate institutions where global perspectives can be readily integrated into the general education formula. Only in the last few years have the professional schools - especially the business schools - responded to the call for an internationalising of the curriculum and of the general training process. International education, and international educators, are affected by the status and prestige rankings within the US system.

It is also argued that from its early stages American higher education possessed structural characteristics that would enable it to respond flexibly to the international education challenge when it came. For example, Neave points

out that after the Civil War the concept of regional *development* was seen in terms of structural innovation in higher education (1976, 59). President Lincoln's Land Grant Act and the Morrill Act (1862) laid the foundations of the unique American system of land-grant colleges, recognised the relevance of public universities, established a far more egalitarian tradition in American higher education and challenged the monopoly of the elitist East Coast universities, with their colonial era assumptions and characteristics. The Land Grant College was designed as education for mass production related to the skills (agricultural and mechanical) deemed necessary for economic competitiveness both locally *and* internationally:

our artisans contend with the skill and wealth of many nations, and our farmers are sorely pressed by the competition of agricultural products which change, and rapid pushes to the front in all markets, *both at home and abroad*. To successfully withstand that formidable rivalry, our countrymen need... that fundamental instruction which is founded on the widest and best experiences of mankind. (Senator Justin Morrill, Vermont quoted in Groennings, 1987, 470-1; emphasis added).

This sub-section has continued to highlight features within the US pattern of higher education that impact upon the character and development of international education. Openness to competitive production rationales, a capacity to absorb international education in curricular terms, and a responsiveness to market-oriented innovations are all conducive to the acceptance of certain forms of international education.

### iii) Ideological Factors

It has been argued that American education is structurally and functionally open to a pragmatic acceptance of the

need to upgrade skills and competencies in the face of international competition. This sub-section asks whether the same affinity can be argued in respect of certain ideological aspects. In fact, American values cut both ways, both enhancing and restricting sensitivity to international considerations (9). It is argued below that the democratic tenor of American education - manifested through its concern to mould citizens prepared to participate actively in government at all levels - augurs well for the growth of interest and involvement in debates concerning the US and its relation to the world.

#### An Informed and active Citizenry

The active citizen character of American democracy, perhaps mythologised during the extremes of Cold War bipolarity, is nevertheless a significant aspect of the milieu in which American international education operates. Among the eighteenth century leaders of the United States, education was viewed as a means to enable the citizen to participate as an equal in the affairs of government, and was thus essential to ensure liberty (Rudolph). In an interesting commentary on this aspect of the American character - first considered by de Tocqueville (10) - Adam suggests that the common experience of mankind is that the 'village' mentality is the norm, metropolitan curiosity an exception, and cosmopolitan breadth a rarity (Adam, 6). However, he argues that the American desire for mastery over one's immediate affairs leads to enhanced curiosity about and understanding of the nation's involvement in the world:

A powerful and almost universal desire to understand and take action on any matter touching practical

community life must be assumed as native to the American character. World affairs ..intrude upon the individual as external limitations on his ability to influence and control an immediate social environment...The world has come late into American communities, hidden behind the voluminous robes of nation. (Adam, 9)

Forty years later one can still discern echoes of these characteristically American concerns in Burn's comment on the rationales for study abroad. Citing aspects of the Rockefeller study Needs and Opportunities in International Education (1983), and the Strength Through Wisdom report of the Presidential Commission (1979), she avers that study abroad "produces a citizenry who maintain a keen interest in international affairs and helps equip them for making informed decisions on the increasing number of public policy issues which have international ramifications," (Briggs & Burn, 1985, 43-44).

As a succession of studies in political culture has shown, the American public's attitudes to involvement and participation in decisionmaking were, until recently, amongst the most activist of western democracies. Minkel argues:

American democracy was founded on the concept that the average citizen would be literate and knowledgeable concerning public affairs. For two centuries, that basic concept has served the nation well. However, in modern times public affairs mean world affairs, and the average American citizen is ill-equipped to participate. Our linguistic, geographic and cultural illiteracy is well documented and appalling... we pride ourselves on superpower status, yet admit our ignorance of the world in which that power is exercised. As a nation, the US has inherited awesome responsibilities, which can be fulfilled only with an enlightened public... (Minkel, 5)

There has been a declining turnout in successive recent Presidential elections, but recent books by Terkel (1989), and Bellah (1985), attest to the continuing strength of the

ideal (11). The Citizen Education amendment to NDEA Title VI (Section 203) adopted by Congress in 1976, directly aims at targets outside educational institutions in order to raise the level of general public awareness, confirming survival of this political orientation. An entire chapter of the 1979 Presidential Commission Report Strength Through Wisdom is entitled "Toward an Informed Electorate: Citizen Education in International Affairs" (112-124).

Much of Adam's commentary is time- and context-bound, reflecting post-war idealism and illustrating the American preoccupation with elite - mass relationships in a mass society context (12). Nevertheless, a strong sense of populist, participative, civic democracy influences aspects of American international education. One of the clearest institutional expressions of such orientations lies in the Community College sector.

### Community Colleges

Burn stresses that an increasing number of community college students are studying abroad, and because 60% of all such students pursue vocationally and professionally oriented programmes, "their greater participation in study abroad is adding to the growing focus on professional fields in overseas study." (Briggs & Burn, 40). Some insights into the characteristics of such institutions are provided by Gleazer, President of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges as part of his appeal for a major effort to internationalise the curriculum and the activities of this sector. More than fifty percent of the students beginning college-level work do so in community colleges, and for every

degree credit student there is one taking classes outside the credit framework. These high enrollments are combined with strong relationships to the local community.

Community colleges are much more deeply embedded in local networks and local community activities than the large State or private four year colleges and universities:

the community college met people where they lived and worked...it moved into the community to serve the needs of the community. Community colleges responded to and expressed local needs...many (in the 1960's) became people's colleges and expressed in educational form that populist movement in America...that is of great significance in the evolution of the USA. (Gleazer, 17, emphasis added)

An Association of American Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) publication urges a more populist theory and practice of study abroad, pointing out with some justification that:

the texture of most writing and advocacy of cultural exchange, with its emphasis on moving elites around the world, the image of the Junior Year abroad, on prestige institutions, etc.,...little of this relates [to our experience at community college level]. The community college's educational practices, open admissions, etc., reflect democratic egalitarianism... We now need to find the international equivalents of our domestic educational practice and develop a populist pedagogy of international education. (Eskow, 55-56)

The Presidential Commission of 1979 echoed these sentiments in its report, suggesting that " given the commitment of the Community Colleges to citizen education, they should receive special attention in expanded international education efforts to reach all citizens," (p.23), and recommending increased Community College use of the outreach facility (Section 603) of the NDEA Title VI legislation.

Such expressions demonstrate that a well established aspect of American education theory and practice enables the appeal for international education to be well received.

Statistics from the American Institute for Foreign Study, the largest commercial study abroad agency operating out of the US, show that while there were no community colleges participating in their UK programmes in academic year 1984-85, in the academic year, 1988-89, some 40% of their students (602 out of 1515) are from this sector (13). Of equal significance is the fact that, unlike the rest of the post-secondary sector, the community colleges are almost entirely state-funded.

Certain American values, in combination with organisational aspects of the US system of higher education, are conducive to the expansion of international education and give rise to particularly American orientations, functions and forms. However, it cannot be assumed that such elective affinities always work to the advantage of innovations with an international dimension. Callahan's discussion of the nationalistic aspects of American education suggests the existence of equally strong inclinations toward the domestic rather than the international perspective (14).

### Summary

It has been argued that simply recording changes in the orientation of international education with reference to shifts in the position of the US in the world economy cannot suffice. Another set of conditioning variables interposes itself between the global backdrop and the minutiae of institutional programme development. While this potentially opens the door to an encyclopaedic array of factors, control was achieved through viewing cultural and structural factors through the prism of the educational system itself, since that is the means of delivery of the phenomenon being

investigated.

It was argued that certain aspects of the US system of higher education, and the values of the society, have a significant effect on the formation and delivery of international education. This argument is not pursued in and of itself, but in order to build a more thorough understanding of how and why US and EC international education differ. The perspective adopted deliberately covered both structural and ideological elements.



Part Three - Salient Features in the Development of American International Education from 1945 to 1970: *International Education and the Politics of National Interest*

In this section specific features of American international education development are highlighted in chronological sequence to illustrate the interplay of changes in the US position in the world and the indigenous factors analysed in Part Two.

The emphasis in Part Three is on the agencies through which US international education came into being. The means by which an international dimension was inserted into US higher education have a direct bearing on several concerns of this thesis. The aspects of *orientation*, *function* and *form* are related to those of perceptions of national interest. It is argued below that in this period of US international education, the orientation was primarily realist, though towards the end of the period encompassed in this section a shift in the definition of national interest can be noted. A second aspect is that the agencies of international education secure substantial and historically high levels of federal support due to the prominence of the national interest rationale which, during this period, is defined almost exclusively in strategic terms.

The postwar patterns explored in this section lead to the suggestion that this phase in the development of American international education is characterised by three major concerns - technical assistance and aid, cultural diplomacy, and cold war definitions of national interest and strategic advantage. These orientations are identifiable as discrete phenomena, and it is argued that all three are governed by a

strategic and political understanding of American national interest. It is further suggested that from these political concerns four prominent, and still influential, agencies of US international education emerged - Fulbrights, the National Defense Education Act (referred to hereafter as NDEA), Area Studies Centers, and the Foundations.

### The Postwar World

Prior to World War II, American higher education was not particularly 'international', but the rise to globalism of the US had clear effects in the educational sector (15). Academics began to focus on the global dimensions of political and economic problems, and growing numbers of foreigners came to study in the US, reflected in the establishment of the National Association of Foreign Study Advisors (NAFSA) in 1948. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act (known popularly as the G.I. Bill), (1946), which facilitated the free passage of almost eight million ex-servicemen through college (half the serving total) massively expanded higher education facilities, swelling campus enrollments and helping to extend the range of the curriculum which in turn made US colleges even more attractive to overseas students. It is often stated that the US experienced an embarrassing shortfall of experts in foreign affairs staffing during the late 1940s, just as the country began to acquire influence in the Middle East, Africa and Asia (Lambert, 1980, Coombs, 1964, Callahan, 1961). The resultant impetus on the growth of area studies is discussed below.

The all-encompassing Truman Doctrine of March 1947 and its further elaboration in his Inaugural Speech of 1949

(Point Four) stressed the importance of rendering economic and technical assistance, as well as military aid, to 'deserving' nations. This provided the incentive for many universities to develop overseas assistance activities. Faculty members returning from overseas service with the armed forces were well placed to be sent abroad again to manage technical assistance projects. It has been suggested that it was "technical assistance activities in the decades following the Second World War that triggered interest within the US in all aspects of international education." (Spaulding & Colucci, 205), (16).

#### Educational Exchanges and the Fulbright Programme (17)

Another facet of postwar international education was the exchange of research students and faculty, and although the publicly funded Fulbright exchanges are the best known, there were private initiatives too, most notably Ford Foundation's support for the fledgling NAFSA. According to M. Archer Brown, there were several new initiatives in undergraduate student exchange and study abroad during the late 1940s and early 1950s based on bilateral agreements and a growing tendency for colleges and universities to form consortia to pool their resources for foreign study opportunities (Brown, 67). The original Fulbright Amendment to the 1946 Surplus Properties Act, funded through the sale of surplus American war materiel, had three main purposes: to foster personal and intellectual contact between the US and her wartime allies and enemies, to promote overseas research opportunities for American academics, and to facilitate the ingress of foreign scholars to domestic university research institutes (Burn, 1980, Ch.6). Fulbright saw the programme in terms of "a

positive instrument of foreign policy, designed to mobilise human resources, just as military and economic policies seek to mobilise physical resources", (Coombs, 1964, xi).

For Coombs the programme reflected the spirit of the times, " being seen as an appealing and attractive means of promoting world understanding", (p.29). Though popular and well-administered, with extensive faculty participation in the selection process, the programme was limited by the amount of foreign currencies held by the US Government.

Writing almost forty years after the passage of the original act, Senator Fulbright recalls and reiterates the rationale for the Programme:

surely it is appropriate that serious attention be given to activities that may contribute to the re-establishment of some semblance of order and tranquility to the world. The interchange of students and scholars across national borders....is the most effective way to enable humankind to apply reason rather than arms to the arbitration of international problems....Educational exchange between nations of different cultures is relevant to the reasonable solution of their differences, and allows people to demonstrate their capacity for humane conduct. (Jenkins, ix-x)

As a flagship programme in its halcyon days, Fulbright supported up to 4,500 foreign students annually, but this has declined in the present era to approximately 600 in each direction (Jenkins, 6 & 67). Forty years after its inception more than 150,000 people had been recipients of Fulbrights (18), and Reichard claims that its significance went beyond statistics in that

the program has set the standard for US international education and included a scholarly elite that stimulated departmental and institutional linkages and considerable academic exchange activity independent of the government. The Fulbright offices abroad also provided an extraordinary network of processing stations for thousands of nongrant students.

(Jenkins, 303)

An underlying theme of the Fulbright programme was the American desire to reorientate and then rehabilitate the erstwhile totalitarian systems of Germany and Japan, and Coombs suggests that it was typically American to attempt this process through education rather than the conventional foreign policy instruments:

In securing a peaceful and democratic future in an area in which the US was poorly prepared by experience and where conventional political, military and economic instruments of foreign policy were clearly inadequate, instinctively MacArthur, Clay, Conant, etc., turned to the American faith in education. (Coombs, 1964, 98)

In Coombs' opinion, the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts contributed a great deal to "mutual understanding and unity" between the US and other countries, and he quotes the US Ambassador to Belgium as ranking exchange programmes on a par with military assistance due to their role in developing Belgian understanding of the US position on NATO and the Congo (1964, 114).

Fulbright is not only a strong symbol of American international education, but also one that simultaneously addresses a number of tasks and objectives. These continue to appear - sometimes overtly, sometimes covertly - in later advocacy. For example, one of the best known arguments in favour of the Fulbright programme has always been that so many Fulbright Scholars rise to prominence in their respective fields, and that the experience itself becomes a salient factor in the political and cultural socialisation of the participants:

Of the 5,800 Japanese who have received Fulbright grants an appreciable number now occupy significant positions in Japanese society. About 35 currently

serve as Ambassadors or senior Government officials, including the present Ambassador to the United States; some 25 are university presidents, 2 are judges at the Japanese Supreme Court, and many are high-ranking executives in the top Japanese corporations. As an expression of gratitude, Japanese alumni raised well over \$1m for grants to US students and scholars. (IIE Newsletter July 1984, 10)

In 1948 Congress enacted the Information and Educational Exchange Act (Smith-Mundt), authorising a world-wide information programme and complementing Fulbright by initiating and funding a broad educational exchange programme. The Act expressly directed the maximum use of private sources, barring federal agencies from performing activities that could equally be performed by private groups. Built into the Act was a directive that the information agency which, under Eisenhower, became the United States Information Agency (USIA), should stress US participation in the United Nations and its related associations. However, Coombs suggests that this Act was passed somewhat reluctantly, forced into being by the growing pressures of the Cold War, and from Korea. The earlier policy, which was to portray the USA "warts and all", gave way "to a shrill anti-communist campaign," (1964, 32). Awareness of the propaganda possibilities inherent in operating Fulbrights through USIA, the federal unit charged with promoting the US Government's viewpoints throughout the world, continues to the present, with questions being raised concerning the integration of international education, cultural activity and public diplomacy (19).

#### International Education and the Cold War in the 1950s

While elements of cold war objectives emerged in the discussion of Fulbright, these merit separate treatment since they were to emerge as an increasingly dominant theme. During

the 1950s international education in America reflected a mixture of characteristics ranging from earlier idealist internationalism to an increasingly combative promotion of national interest based on realist internationalism.

The rapid development of Area Studies and Language Centers on US campuses, together with the growth in bilateral exchange agreements were advanced at the outset of the Cold War as "an essential element in the worldwide ideological struggle against Communism," (Reichard, 310). As Coombs suggests, international education was increasingly seen as a dimension of foreign policy alongside the more traditional military, economic and political elements. During the early 1950s the emphasis on exchange diminished in favour of technical assistance programmes and the dissemination of American expertise in the developing areas. The view of educational exchange and international education as being intrinsically worthy of federal support was clearly waning (20). Yet as Coombs attests, the activities of the State Department (Technical Cooperation Unit), the International Educational Exchange Service (under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs), and the semi-independent USIA were all interdependent in practice if not in political and administrative terms, since they all contributed to 'mutual understanding' as well as the 'improvement of America's image abroad' (21).

Prior to the "national mortification and shock," (Coombs, 1964, 41), provoked by the launch of Sputnik, which facilitated the passing of the NDEA, other indicators confirm the drift towards a pragmatic view of international education as part of the evolving definition of national interest.

Making the world safe for the USA involved the mobilisation of human resources alongside the military efforts to maintain security. Educational and cultural relations could be mobilised for security purposes firstly by fostering a broader and deeper understanding of America in other nations and peoples, so that the nation's policies and behavior would be understood more accurately and sympathetically, and its leadership thereby enhanced; and secondly, by enlargening America's understanding of other nations "and our general competence in world affairs so that our policies and leadership will be better informed, widely supported at home and effective abroad," (Coombs, 1964, 41).

In terms of the criteria offered in Chapter Two, this constitutes an interesting midway point between realist and idealist internationalism. Although driven by a realist understanding of national interest and strategically defined security concerns, elements of a functionalist interpretation of interdependence appear alongside the more traditional considerations.

In part this reorientation led to the growth of Area Studies Centers, prompted by concerns over the limited numbers of foreign affairs specialists and their low levels of competence. These are now examined in greater detail.



### Area Studies and the Foundations

The early centres were primed and expanded on the basis of private foundation funds. Prior to World War Two, American higher education offered little in the way of instruction or research opportunities in Asia, Africa, or the Middle East, and only modest coverage of the USSR and Latin America. Burn pinpoints early attempts to provide foreign affairs expertise for an increasingly active and interventionist United States in the activities of Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford in the early 1950s. As a direct result of Foundation pump-priming and endowment, Russian Studies (Harvard and Columbia), Japanese Studies (University of Michigan) and African Studies (Northwestern, Chicago) were established and developed. In 1952 the Ford Foundation began to move into international education and soon became the world's largest philanthropic force in the area; \$446m, or 20% of its 1952 - 1961 expenditure went into world affairs activities, mostly in the educational sector.

Ford inaugurated the Foreign Area Fellowship Program in support of graduate training in the USSR, non-Western, and Eastern European areas and also, through its International Training and Research facility, funded 30 university programmes in international studies and supported 100 undergraduate study programmes. Burn sees ITR's clearinghouse role as pivotal in the establishment of international educational activities on campus. Although ITR funding ceased in 1967, the scheme had a seminal effect which was felt long after the last grant dollar had been spent: "Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford produced the base for international studies so notably lacking in the early postwar period," (Burn, 1980, 109).

Coombs offers one reason why the foundations played such an important role in the development of American international education: "the bulk of Ford money, however, went to technical assistance and institution-building in Asia, Africa and Latin America," (1964, 71).

The relationship between these two spheres of investment, domestic and international, is explored by Berman (1984) who advances a less benign interpretation of Foundation involvement (22). Since Berman's critique is that the foundations are not obliged to consider public interest, or that they define public interest in a particular way, the next section focuses on that more traditional definer of public and national interest, the state.

#### The NDEA and Title VI

The National Defense Education Act can be seen as the federal parallel to the efforts of the foundations to support foreign language competence and related area studies. Prompted by post-Sputnik feelings of national inadequacy, NDEA aimed to "increase the national pool of specialists in foreign languages, area studies and world affairs, update the knowledge of existing specialists; produce new knowledge about other nations - especially Western ones - through research and development, and to develop improved curricula and instructional materials," (Burn, 1980, 109).

The impetus was decidedly realist and nationalist. The response to the Soviet technological challenge came from the federal government and the emphasis of NDEA Title VI, administered by the Department of Education, was clearly and categorically stated in terms of US defence needs.

Heretofore the federal government could not be considered a partner in the educational process. In fact its traditional role was one of benign neglect... but in 1958 over a billion dollars were allocated under the provisions of the NDEA. (Urch, 1985, 3)

The Act, though much amended over the years, is still one of the most significant tools of federal policy on international education. In a recent seminar on 'The U.S. Federal Role In International Education' NDEA Title VI grants were cited as being of pivotal importance by three of the four panellists (23). Describing Title VI grants as essential to the provision of seed money for initiating international education programmes at the undergraduate level, representatives from institutions as disparate as the Houston Community College Consortium, UCLA, and Michigan State University all testified to the 'magnetic' function of Title VI funds in drawing together like-minded people to create a critical mass for curricular innovation. The survival of Title VI over more than 30 years of changing circumstances is clearly a testimony to its resilience and utility.

Amendments to Title VI mirror significant shifts in the domestic agenda affecting international education. In the first fiscal year of operation, 19 Centers were funded, rising steadily to a peak of 107 in 1969-70; by 1973-4 they declined to 50, and by 1988-9 there were more than ever before - 124 in all. The area orientations also changed, as can be seen from Table 1, reflecting shifts in the strategic and commercial importance to America of different areas over two decades.

TABLE 1. Subject Area Distribution, Title VI Centers  
1973 - 1989

Subject Area	1973-4	1978-9	1988-9
E. Asia	8	15	22
S. Asia	6	8	11
SE Asia	3	3	8
Inner Asia	*	*	1
Pacific Isles	*	*	1
Mid. East	7	12	13
USSR/E. Europe	8	14	21
Africa	6	8	10
W. Europe	*	*	6
Latin America	6	10	18
Canada	*	*	3
Int'l Studies	*(6)^	*(10)^	10
Total	50	80	124

^ Refers to Burn's General category which included comparative, Inner Asia, Pacific Islands, Western Europe and Canada.

Source: Burn (1980), p. 114, and data obtained from the US Department of Education, Center for International Education, March and June 1989.

In the 1970s there were four main divisions in the Title VI scheme. Funding was allocated to the following programmes - centres for international studies; language and area studies; international studies, sub-divided into graduate and undergraduate levels; and fellowships and research (Burn, 1980, 110-116). In 1972, amendments removed the requirement that language training be a component of Center activities, and permitted two new kinds of programmes - graduate international studies oriented toward contemporary problems such as the environment, and undergraduate international studies designed to add an international dimension to general, especially freshman and sophomore, education.

These "exemplary" programmes were designed to initiate new approaches that would be replicable across the higher

education spectrum, and were part of an attempt to disperse Title VI funding more widely to compensate for the unfunded and moribund International Education Act (see below). The effect of these changes was to reduce sharply the number of funded Centers, though as can be seen from Table 1, the overall total has since risen and surpassed the earlier peak. One cause of the decline of the early 1970s was the Administration's displeasure at the anti-Vietnam war stance adopted by many Center staff (Burn, 1980, 112).

Lambert's 1973 Language and Area Studies Review proposed that Centers be assessed, since some clearly excelled at what they did while others were found wanting. Lambert criticised the tendency to see Centers as the major organisational device for carrying out international educational activities through the creation of new specialists, and he recommended more Center diversification. In the aftermath of this report there are indications of greater inter-center cooperation and consortial arrangements (there were 19 interlinked Centers in 1988-89).

Other changes effected in NDEA Title VI during the 1970s include the allocation of 15% of federal grants to "outreach" activities, and the Citizen Education Amendment, both designed to ensure that the resources developed as a result of the grant are deployed to strengthen international education in other institutions and agencies. This initially provoked resentment on the grounds that it detracted from what Centers considered to be their primary function of advanced training and research, the very orientation that Lambert had criticised as leading to duplication of effort and rivalry. However, they soon fell into line under threat of their federal funds

being diverted to school and community organisations active in international education through Section 603 (Citizen Education). There is some evidence that the outreach requirement is approached reluctantly, since many Center staff still feel that their proper function is to create more specialists (Goodlad, 424).

Despite its importance in promoting several vital facets of international education since 1958, NDEA has been subject to periodic funding and appropriations crises and, even in the good years, tends to be under-resourced. As Coombs observes, not only are more dollars needed, but there is also a "pressing need to go beyond the annual appropriations scheme which prevents long-range projects beyond a single fiscal year," (1964, 140). Burn finds that Title VI has a limited direct impact on the entire spectrum of US higher education, though even its critics believe it wields considerable influence, particularly in helping to revive foreign languages and promoting cross- and inter-disciplinary studies. There is ample evidence to show that thirty years since its inception it continues to act as an important conduit through which many international education programmes in the US come into being. It is still perceived as a benchmark by a number of present-day advocates of international education, one of whom comments: " [the aftermath of Sputnik was] the last time the American people made international education a high national priority... must we have a new Sputnik before we will respond to today's pressing international needs?" (Paulson, 224).

The next section concludes Part Three by drawing atten-

tion to shifts along the realist-idealist spectrum in the orientation, as well as the form and function of American international education in the 1960s. In particular, the definitions of national interest in largely defensive terms gave way, during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, to a more idealist rhetoric of national character.

#### The 1960s: Marching to a Different Drummer?

While many of the agencies through which international education was delivered in the 1960s remained the same, there also appears a sense of change in orientation and function. Some of the new orientations and rationales had a clear impact on the agenda of the 1970s, and echoes can still be found in contemporary practices.

The renewed sense of national mission symbolised by Kennedy's New Frontier coloured attitudes towards international education, and altered its organisation and content during the decade. His Inaugural Address emphasised foreign policy: "I believe that Americans are ready to be called to greatness...we must take the initiative again, at home and abroad", (Carroll & Noble, 385-6).

This outward-looking orientation provided the context within which Coombs was to elaborate his ideas on international education and foreign policy. Soon after taking office, Kennedy made it clear that his administration intended to give a greater emphasis to the "human side of foreign policy" and also suggested that a larger private effort was needed by universities and foundations along with a stronger and more unified federal effort (Coombs, 1964, 2). Part of this higher official profile was the creation of the new post of Assistant Secretary for Education and Cultural Affairs. The

resultant book, The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy sprang from Coombs' "reflections of the first incumbent."

A major early landmark of the Kennedy administration was the Fulbright-Hays Act (known as the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act) which, according to Coombs, not only marked a new maturity in America's cultural and educational relations, but provided a broad, flexible framework for years to come. It absorbed elements of the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts, and added measures to provide services to foreign students and establish additional centres of technical and cultural interchange, such as the East-West Center in Hawaii, to finance US sponsored international scholarly meetings, collaborate with international organisations and support private research into problems of educational exchange. The new financial provisions were designed to free exchange programmes from financial straitjackets, permit the flexible use of funds and facilitate the

use of any reasonable means to increase the mutual understanding between the people of the US and the people of other countries...to promote international cooperation for educational and cultural advancement; and thus to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic and peaceful relations between the US and other countries of the world (Coombs, 1964, 51)

Fulbright was keen to distance these activities - in the terms of the matrix, their orientation would incline toward the "polycentric" - from the USIA which he regarded as essentially propagandist. Observing that the Act was weakened by underfunding and the annual appropriations hurdle, Coombs admitted that:

no doubt this law would contribute greatly to the effectiveness of US foreign policy...but it has to be ranked a relative failure in the sense that its great potential has as yet been scarcely tapped. Strengthe-



ning the educational dimension of foreign policy, though a widely heralded aim, still had a low priority on the agenda of appropriations committees and in the thinking of too many influential people, (Coombs, 1964, 53).

In other words, the dominant assumptions held by the 'influentials' were still characterised by a "nationalist and ethnocentric" definition of national interest which thus determined the most appropriate orientation, function and form of any federally-supported international education.

Some of these longings for a more active federal role were encapsulated in plans for an International Education Act during the Johnson Administration (24). In his February 1965 Smithsonian address LBJ suggested that:

ideas not armaments will shape our lasting prospects for peace....The conduct of our foreign policy will advance no faster than the curriculum of our classrooms; and the knowledge of our citizens is the treasure which grows only when it is shared, (Bergen & Kelley, 7)

and these declamations were continued in his Presidential Message to Congress on International Education (February 1966), in which expansion of existing programmes and a number of new initiatives were recommended. Central to the proposals was the International Education Act, intended to strengthen international education and research in American colleges and universities. It was passed by Congress in 1966, but since it has never been funded it stands as a moribund piece of well-intentioned legislation.

Thus the 1960s give rise to a shift towards polycentric, even geocentric, orientations in US international education. There is evidence of a growing awareness, and acceptance, of America as a part of a larger, interdependent collectivity, where national vulnerability is defined not in exclusively

strategic terms but also in terms of the knowledge levels of the population as a whole.

The materials presented in support of the Act exemplify and reflect many of the characteristic assumptions and orientations of the decade (25). The Cuba crisis had sharply demonstrated "the almost terrifying responsibilities which we as a Nation have acquired" (Brademas, 30), and this together with the shock of Kennedy's assassination, the growing Civil Rights movement, and other unresolved domestic issues such as the 'rediscovery of poverty' created a rather less confident mood than the one prevailing in the previous decade. The first intimations of this vulnerability appear in the advocacy literature, though they are overlaid with celebratory expressions of the new challenges:

we have met the enemy - and he is us. Americans do so much that is good and fine, both here and abroad that we feel we have no flaws; in truth our Achilles heel in international relations is our tendency to be proud, provincial and unprepared for cultural shock. We do not really appreciate our own subcultures, let alone the rest of the world and its awesome problems. To a degree we are still insular, as though it were necessary to our mental health. (Brademas, 503)

A title, within the Becker & Mehlinger collection, captures the flavour of the times rather nicely - *Studying Other Cultures: Looking Outwards is 'In'* The growth of the hippy and anti-war movements and SDS, persuades the editors that transnational political socialisation is on the increase. They claim that "the old perspectives have outlived their usefulness," (p.7), but the conceptual transformation was not sustained, nor were the outcomes of contemporary activity accurately predicted. Feresh's survey of curricular innovations in international education leads him to suggest that what appear to be pragmatic strategies adopted to secure

federal and state financial support for such activities are in fact counterproductive. Mobilising the national interest argument, he suggests, rests upon the pragmatic use of fear in promoting non-ethnocentric studies - the very antithesis of the rationale for liberal education. Besides, there will subsequently be a tendency to associate such education with the notion that the world has become troublesome and burdensome to Americans. Such negative connotations may skew international education towards those issues and areas that represent a threat to American hegemonic interests (economic or strategic) and away from those that cannot be construed in threatening terms.

Fersh was right to draw attention to such possibilities, confirmed by the trends visible in Table 1 and much else besides. Coombs remarks that cultural and educational ties with European allies must not be neglected on the assumption that they are close and strong by definition; friends cannot be taken for granted.

There is probably less genuine understanding between the US and Europe today than shortly after the war. If little is done today, the negative consequences will be seen in ten to twenty years time, and mutual understanding between Europe and the US will deteriorate with less unity and cooperation. (Coombs, 1964, 126)

The first Director of the US Office of Education's Institute for International Studies, drew attention to the interconnections between education to reduce American ethnocentricity vis à vis the outside world and the development of "intercultural understanding among the different ethnic groups that make up these United States." He suggested that this linkage had been "of basic concern to OE's Institute of

International Studies since its establishment in 1968," (Leestma, 11). In a related vein, "an international perspective is difficult to achieve unless one first becomes a student of his own culture and the social systems within his own culture", (McComas, 2).

American international education was thus influenced by shifts in internal perceptions of cultural relationships, as well as by the issues through which the US defined and redefined its world role during the 1960s. A uniquely American combination of domestic preoccupation with a multicultural and multiracial society, paralleled by concern for the position of the US in an international system that increasingly showed the limitations of military power, led to changes in the orientation of international education.

The frequently used phrase that the America of the early 1960s had "grown to young adulthood" reflects the shift of national self-perception that influenced the tone in which international education developments were articulated. Carroll and Noble cite the Presidents of three of America's top universities as counterpoints to the quickening of the national pulse:

"We find ourselves as a nation on the defensive," declared the President of Princeton University, "and as a people seemingly paralyzed in self-indulgence." "We must acknowledge that the loss of faith in our world, our destiny, our religion, is the cloudy and dark climate which most of America finds itself living in today," added the President of Yale. And the President of Harvard agreed that America is "adrift with little sense of purposeful direction, lacking deeply-held convictions, wandering along with no more stirring thought in the minds of people than the desire for diversion, personal comfort and safety." (Carroll & Noble, 385)

The new vision, embodied by Kennedy, prompted concern for America's image in the world and affected the infrastruc-

ture and orientation of international education. An interesting historical record of that epoch is given by Coombs through his Washington insider's view of policy formation. The above outline of developments during the 1960s suggests that the decade saw the beginning of a shift away from the traditional definition of national interest and the consequent nationalist - ethnocentric orientation of international education.

#### Summary

Part Three examined the factors contributing to the uniqueness of American international education by focusing on four themes: the origins of the Fulbright programme; the emergence of a cultural diplomacy dimension to international education in the context of the politics of the Cold War (26); the federal response to a particular Cold War crisis (NDEA); the establishment of Area Studies Centers and the role that Foundations played in shaping the international education agenda of the 1950s and 1960s.

A characteristic theme in American international education was highlighted - the interplay of federal and other sources of support. Fulbrights were seen as an elite exchange programme, catering to the 'human dimension' of cultural diplomacy. The Area Studies Centers and the Foundations were also perceived as oriented towards the production of specialists. Both cases emphasise the creation of expertise, couched in the language of national interest. The NDEA emerged as the primary federal support for international education, while the unfunded International Education Act symbolised unrealised high hopes.

Federal involvement in the promotion of international education moves in relation to changing perceptions and definitions of national interest, as witnessed by the search for new justifications. As the 1960s pass, earlier political and ideological orientations begin to be replaced by less traditional considerations. Not only are multicultural reflections from the domestic agenda visible, but a new, primarily economic, definition of national interest looms.

## Part Four - International Education in the 1970s - Global and Interdependence Orientations

This section reviews continuities and changes in US international education during the 1970s. The first part of this section examines the drift away from strategic and political definitions of national interest, the second considers the shift towards an economics and commerce-oriented international education. In terms of the classification offered in Chapter Two, this represents a trend, within a realist concept of an international regime, towards a greater acceptance of interdependence. In part this is because, national security begins to be openly viewed as having economic and financial as well as the traditional strategic and military dimensions. Under the Carter Administration this extended concept of national interest even stretched as far as the knowledge dimension, as evidenced by the appropriately entitled Strength Through Wisdom Report of 1979.

### Section One: Recognising Limits and Turning Inwards

Two interlinked and structurally significant factors affected international education during this decade - changes in America's position in the world, in the security and financial dimensions (27).

First, in the finance sector, Nixon's new economic policy of August 1971, produced to counter the first trade deficit since the 1890s, placed a 10% tariff on all imports, devalued the dollar, and reoriented the institutional framework of global economic management established in the late 1940s. Henceforth, America would more openly play the role of an 'ordinary country', acting in accordance with national interests, rather than claiming to act out of self-sacrifi-

cing notions of world leadership or responsibility.

Secondly, in the area of security, limitations on American power were experienced through Vietnam, the oil crisis and the growing pressure on the American-dominated post-war institutional framework of international finance. Increased fears of environmental, ecological and demographic imbalance were added to concerns of a more direct nature. Watergate, too, had wide implications, undermining the assumption that US institutions were uniquely virtuous and eminently exportable.

The impact of these changes on international education was mixed. Spaulding & Colucci note an observable quickening of activity in the "new synthetic area" (p. 211) of international education - that which has a global or interdependence motif. This shift towards a geocentric orientation became well established during the 1970s. On the other hand, a number of absolute and relative deteriorations in the more traditional indices of international education - further decline in foreign language enrolments, in college foreign language requirements, in NDEA Title VI Centers, in NDEA Fellowships, in federal funding and in Fulbrights - are recorded. Kerr, in characterising the seventies as a period of national introspection and concern with domestic issues was prompted to ask whether the lost opportunities of the sixties might be revived in the eighties (28). At the end of the decade Kerr warned that nations with a well developed and widespread global perspective have an international advantage because "more of their people are likely to understand the international implications of events and policies", (in Burn,



1980, xviii).

The end of the decade saw a Presidential Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies reporting a lamentable state of affairs and making a number of recommendations that were subsequently largely ignored by the new incumbent at the White House, Ronald Reagan. Even so, many of the individual American international educational professionals interviewed in the course of this research were of the opinion that federal indifference to any follow through on Commission recommendations created a tougher, more coalition-based international education lobby (29).

As implied above, international education in the 1970s does not exhibit a clear, unambiguous orientation. Although many commentators suggest that American interest in international affairs declined after withdrawal from Vietnam in 1975, (30), there were also dramatic openings to China from Nixon's visit in 1972 to Carter's full recognition in 1979, strengthened ties with black African nations, and signs of superpower détente (SALT I, 1972). Klingberg's exploration of cyclical trends in American internationalism concludes that the extroversion part of the cycle declined from the early seventies as American power and will diminished on the world scene.

Towards the end of the seventies the American public clearly began to recognise the nation's weakness abroad, and as in previous introvert phases, the American Government, first under Carter, and then under Reagan responded by aiming to strengthen the country psychologically, militarily and economically, (Klingberg, 12).

Part of this moral rearmament is encapsulated in the

Commission Report of 1979, entitled, Strength Through Wisdom: a Critique of U.S. Capability which concluded that foreign languages and international studies were neglected to the detriment of the economic and security interests of the USA. The decline in the national capacity to retain premier position in the world was noted in the following terms:

at a time when an increasingly hazardous international military, political and economic environment is making unprecedented demands on America's resources, intellectual capacity and public sensitivity... Educational neglect is reflected in public uncertainty about the relationship between American interests and goals and those of other peoples and cultures... Nothing less is at issue than the nation's security... the nation requires far more reliable capacities to communicate with its allies, analyze the behavior of potential adversaries, and earn the trust... of the uncommitted... America's position in the world has changed radically in the last quarter century. Powerful competitors... new pressures... new demands... underline the absolute necessity to develop a first class apparatus to enable Americans to cope with a changing world. (Commission Report, 1-4)

The critical change illustrated in this quote is the open acceptance of an interdependence dimension in the official definition of national interest and national security. The raised profile of the interdependence motif comes about as the complex nature of the international world order impinges upon the consciousness of US policymakers and public. With the connections between international policy developments and domestic conditions and parameters in mind, Wittkopf's analysis of elite and mass attitudes towards America's world role shows American internationalism in an interesting light (31).

While domestic and economic concerns dominated the agenda from 1968 - 1978, fundamental alterations to the established and conventional cold war internationalism of the

USA were occurring under the surface. After Iran and Afghanistan the old polar choices of introversion (Fortress America) or extroversion (active global crusade) were supplemented by cooperative internationalism. Wittkopf indicates that the consensus forged under Cold War conditions fragmented, to be replaced by a selective and variable internationalism that stretched from cooperative 'accommodationists' to 'hard-liners' advocating military force at any sign of communist encroachment.

Declining economic confidence, combined with a shift away from the most compelling of arguments for high levels of federal involvement (national security), weakened the system for maintaining US efforts in international education during the seventies. Burn & Perkins noted that "decreased and unpredictable federal and other funding has already brought the demise of some programs and threatens the quality, in some cases the survival, of others", (p. 22), yet the outlook was not uniformly bleak. A number of publications testify to continued interest in international education, particularly in the area of the undergraduate curriculum in four year and community colleges, into schools and the secondary level (32). Study abroad numbers (on organised programmes) increased from 25,000 in 1970 to 120,000 in 1977-78, (Burn, 1980, 70). Despite the clear downturn in federal and foundation funding, James Perkins in decrying America's drift toward isolation in the early 1970s, concedes that retrenchment under adverse conditions may provide timely opportunities for better forward planning (Sutton, Ward & Perkins).

Reculer pour mieux Sauter?

Francis Sutton (Deputy Vice-President, International Division, Ford Foundation) suggested that one of the few hopeful continuities in "this time of turning inward" was the ever-increasing impulse of American undergraduates to study abroad. Sutton believed that reductions in the federal funding of Area Studies Centers and Programs were possibly useful in curbing the tendency for such Centers to be staffed with exotic specialists interacting with other exotic specialists. Admitting that the Ford Foundation itself was partially responsible for such developments, through its "wondrous..and expensive..array of committees, offices, institutes", Sutton extolls the "heartening internationalism of modern youth [grounded in] better worldwide communication and a vigorous egalitarianism," (Sutton, Ward & Perkins, 8-12).

This is a pivotal argument, because just when the formal agencies of international education are experiencing a downturn in support, individual consumers are apparently *increasing* the demand for the Study Abroad aspect of the phenomenon. This echoes the stance taken around the same time in Europe by the Masclet Report, which argues that untapped undergraduate demand for mobility can be utilised to stimulate international education activity (see Chapter Four). Thus, international education in the US begins to experience a change of *form*, moving away from the expensive postgraduate vehicles towards study abroad for undergraduates - a demanded, transactional mode.

The decline of the technical assistance activities of US universities to the LDC's is timely, due to a growing American

humbled awareness of our own imperfections and our international dependencies, as well as a new appreciation of the difficulties and subtleties of development. (We thought for sometime that we could simply export our agriculturalists, engineers, doctors, and other specialists, and that we could train people from developing countries more or less as our own people had been trained.) As we have become more concerned about domestic problems, there has been a blurring of distinctions about what is domestic and what is international. In part this is a consequence of the growing interdependence of national economies that many nations have felt longer than we have, but that now affects the United States too....We talk more and more of common problems. (Sutton, Ward & Perkins, 9-10)

This awareness of the dangers of hubris opens up the second opportunity referred to by Perkins. Ward, also of the Ford Foundation, argues that the 'selling' of international education by means of hard-nosed definitions of national interest can backfire in times of internal difficulty for the nation-state. In straitened circumstances universities focus their expertise on problems of their own society rather than indulging in the luxury of specialised study of exotic areas. Like Sutton, Ward finds potential benefits resulting from the then current "state of tension between nationalizing and internationalizing influences on higher education,"(p.21). Due to the increasing recognition of problems common to many societies, this enhances acceptance of and openness to intercultural and interdependence perspectives.

The Sutton, Ward & Perkins publication is important. It shows clearly that America's place in the world was being re-evaluated, and that this reappraisal was having an effect on professional and political perceptions of international educators. In his own interpretation of the seventies groundswell Perkins observes that there was a basic weakness in

having international studies so dependent on a "public rationale that was securely tied both directly and implicitly to the cold war and US worldwide responsibilities" (p.33). As the cold war began to thaw, as Vietnam affected the image of the US as a benign and wise leader of the Western world, and as American technical assistance and foreign aid programmes began to be perceived as ineffectual or, worse, neo-imperialist,

so the tide of federal support for international studies began to recede, leaving the academic beaches littered with expectations that could no longer be fulfilled... We must recognise that we are experiencing a massive shift in our social priorities and our definition of the national interest...In the past we experienced the changes from dynastic to mercantile to security considerations as determinants in world affairs. Concern for national security within a system of states is still very much with us...but is being modified by two forces. One is the growing constraint of regional and international organisations. The other is the rising concern for new social priorities of ecology, racial justice and the quality of life... We need a new conception of the national interest in foreign and domestic affairs that starts with and embraces our *new domestic priorities*. (Sutton, Ward & Perkins, 35-37; emphasis added)

## Section Two: Strength Through Wisdom

To understand US international education in the 1980s, the circumstances leading to the establishment of the President's Commission, and influencing the nature of its recommendations, must first be considered. According to Pincus, whose analysis owes more to the Realist than the Transactionalist perspective, the Commission was influenced by three intertwined sets of interests. In ascending order of importance he suggests the concern of university representatives over the state of language and area studies, National Security Council and State Department interests, and Congressional concerns stimulated by the Helsinki Accords.

The first pressure, that of university presidents upon Kissinger for increased federal funding of international studies, occurred in 1975, but produced no tangible results. The second element came into being in 1976 when a NSC staff member, concerned about the erosion of US expertise in foreign areas, proposed a Presidential Commission to examine foreign area research and training facilities. Thirdly, in March 1977, Representative Paul Simon, (Dem. Illinois) a member of the Commission charged with overseeing the Helsinki Accord, came to believe that American financing of language and area studies was inadequate in the light of the Accord (33). In April 1978 an Executive Order establishing the Commission was issued from the White House and in September James Perkins was appointed as Chairman. Pincus believed the Commission to be dominated by advocates seeking to make the case for "greater material support... and with a national welfare view of national need... the Commission saw its mission as building a more cosmopolitan America through language and international training at all age levels," (Pincus, 80-83).

The Rand Corporation was employed on a consultancy basis by the Commission to analyse the supply and demand characteristics for individuals skilled in languages and international expertise. Rand discovered an existing surplus of people trained in these fields and could therefore find no *economic* justification for increased expenditure in more training and research. Rand found no general market shortage of area and language specialists in business, government or the universities. The only exception of economics and some professional

fields where there was no tradition of language or area training. In the resultant clash between normative (political) and market (economic) orientations the former dominated, partly because the majority of the 25-member Commission had a direct interest in advocacy, and partly because in the case of national security, market considerations only tell part of the story. As Pincus observes, the Commission assumed from the start that the nation *ought* to have more specialists than it actually seemed capable of using (34).

Rand failed to understand

that the Commission was, as an advocacy group, determined to offer a scheme to expand and reconstruct government subsidy of language and international studies....But the report, however self-serving its recommendations were for the professional interests of its members, nevertheless showed a clear perception of American's *current psychological isolation from the international community*, and offered measures to help change the situation. (Pincus, 88-89, emphasis added)

During the mid-1970s many of the agencies and advocacy groups of American international education, faced with shrinking federal and foundation funding, entered into a fissiparous phase. Coalition-building, of great importance in American interest group activity, began to emerge as one of the results of the Presidential Commission, even if the banner to which they rallied was, as Pincus suggested, somewhat suspect. The Commission created a new enthusiasm among academic internationalists, many of whom had grown demoralised throughout the years of retrenchment.

A coalition-building scheme which received an official seal of approval was the Council on Learning's Education and the World View project launched in 1977 with



support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the US Office of Education, and the Exxon Foundation. The project brief was to assess the extent to which changed world circumstances were reflected in the undergraduate curriculum, to construct a data base about college student global knowledge, and to publicise feasible and effective exemplary programmes that stressed the international dimension of the undergraduate curriculum. Data published in the Council's Change magazine in the early 1980s stressed the extent of American ignorance of and disinterest in international affairs during a decade that had witnessed a spectacularly rapid internationalisation of the US economy, both in terms of inward foreign investment and in dependence on overseas markets for goods and services.

As demonstrated above, the most convenient form of leverage for expanded international education by the end of the 1970s was clearly aligned with the notion of an "Embattled America" (35). The international education lobby was moving towards the dominant motif of the 1980s in which American economic interdependence was recognised alongside continuing belief in her political and strategic pre-eminence. This would lead to the interweaving of business and international education rationales, and the orientations, functions and forms of international education would reflect this shift.

Lambert foresaw some of the drawbacks inherent in this trend in 1980 when he recognised that an endemic weakness of US international education is

grantotropic central planning, that is periodic marshalling of constituencies and arguments for enhanced federal support...[this prevents us from] attending to

the pressing need for rationalization and redirection of effort within the field itself,... the development of more concrete objectives... and the articulation of roles to be played by the different groups at various levels of the educational system. For these purposes we need an internal agenda defined without reference to funding (Lambert, 1980, 153).

This aspiration is accompanied by a warning of what could happen if the proposed new business clientele is looked to as a source of support. If the business, professional and media constituencies accept their role in providing the wherewithal, the question of exactly which kind of education can supply more internationally sophisticated recruits to the corporate payroll would remain unresolved. This confusion, suggests Lambert, is why the Commission shifted ground, calling for more Centers, more experts at one end of the spectrum, and at the other for a cosmopolitanization in the outlook of as many Americans as possible. This hedging of bets, he concludes, leads nowhere: "I see nowhere on the horizon any group or mechanism set up to [deal with the need to make the various parts of the international education] enterprise mutually supportive and interlinked." (*ibid.* 164)

This was slightly disingenuous, since the Commission recommended that a private body, the National Council for Foreign Language and International Studies (NCFLIS) be set up to monitor and report on developments in this field and encourage both federal and private financial support. This body was subsequently brought into being in 1980, and remained influential until 1988 when it merged into a larger promotional grouping (36).

## Part Five - The 1980s and the *Economics* of National Interest

The economic challenge from Japan and other countries is the modern Sputnik, a powerful lever for the reform and support of education... Indeed, the present economic challenge is more profound than Sputnik and as fundamental as the change from an agrarian to an industrial economy after the Civil War. (Carnegie Corporation, 1983, p.2)

Part Five focuses on the responses of the international education lobby to shifts in American self-perceptions during the 1980s, from largely strategic to predominantly economic definitions of national interest. The proponents of international education reflected these changing perceptions and sought new sources of support. The customary target remained federal, and activity continued at this level, through defence of existing legislation and funding levels. However, faced with a particularly anti-interventionist White House, calls for a renewed federal lead were unsuccessful, and international educators had to look elsewhere for support. As the facts of economic interdependence became more and more accepted by the public, potential agencies of support were regaled with a commercial rather than a strategic and military definition of national interest.

Survival values have long served as the traditional focus of American national security concerns. Threat perception is particularly easy when perceived in military terms, and even more so when military strength is displayed by known adversaries. Although threat perceptions are less visible in relation to economic and other non-military values, the US has on occasion assumed that economic benefits were translatable into security benefits (e.g., the Marshall Plan and AID assistance projects). American understanding of - and vulnerability to - growing economic interdependence was long obscured by her gladiatorial stance vis à vis the Soviet Union, but since the

international monetary system set up at Bretton Woods began to unravel during the early 1970s, increasing attention has been paid to the costs imposed by changes in the international economy. The reduction of superpower tensions in the mid 1980s also accelerated the trend toward non-military threat perception.

Knorr suggests three consequences follow from changes in the relative position of the US in the world economy, (Knorr & Trager, 6-7) First, economic problems, both domestic and international, have become more widely politicised than before, and have risen in salience relative to other national problems. Secondly, the ability of various interest groups in a pluralistic society to advance their preferences in competition with other groups weakens national solidarity and fosters support for sectional rather than national interests, which in turn tends to limit government authority. Thirdly, these interest groups are making increasingly vocal and effective demands on the state for actions and allocations at the very same time as the government's ability to formulate effective programmes and mobilise resources is diminished. Thus, economic competitiveness became a plausible lever for international educators to use in their relationship with the business sector.

Business and the corporate sector were increasingly targeted in an attempt to marry international education to entrepreneurial values and the needs of the labour market. Besides the business sector, individual states and regional groupings of states appeared responsive. State Governors came to realise that attracting inward (foreign) investment was

essential if unemployment and the decline of local industry, leading to possible loss of office, were to be avoided.

### Redefining the Federal Role

The previous Section established that the 1970s were characterised, in part, by the efforts of international education advocates and professionals to discover a successful formula to attract funding in the face of a decline in federal support. This decline was partly caused by redefinitions of national security in terms of economic interdependence rather than in military and political terms. Between 1970 and 1983 the intermeshing of the US and international economies grew substantially, as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2. Foreign Trade and Foreign Investment

	1970	1983
Exports of goods and services (1983 \$)	\$168,503m	\$332,201m
Imports of goods and services (1983 \$)	\$154,076m	\$365,113m
Value of foreign-owned assets in US (1983 \$)	\$274,024m	\$781,500m
Value of US-owned assets abroad (1983 \$)	\$424,635m	\$887,400m

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1986, Washington, D.C., US Gov't. Printing Office, 1986.

Although an economic dimension had previously been incorporated into national security perspectives (the Marshall Plan being one example), overwhelming emphasis on the economic element did not appear consistently until the 1980s. It is true that there are earlier intimations of this concern:

"Foreign markets must be regained if America's produ-

cers are to rebuild a full and enduring domestic prosperity for our people. There is no other way if we would avoid painful economic dislocations, social readjustments, and unemployment." President F. D. Roosevelt, 1935 (Carroll & Noble, 245),

but the near-panic that set in during the early 1980s differed qualitatively and quantitatively.

Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. We report to the American people that...the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our future as a Nation and as a people. (The National Commission on Excellence in Education, 5), (39)

Conferences and symposia agendas reflect the unabated concern with shortcomings and failures gripping American educators throughout the decade (37). Public perceptions of the growth of interdependence between the advanced industrial economies and the globalisation of major areas of industry and finance were often associated with the growing impact of the dynamic Japanese and Asian economies and the putative challenge from the European Community. Responses to these perceptions range from the muscular insularity of Reagan's first Administration, through the emphasis on competitiveness and competence, to a "kind of collective paranoia about the ways in which foreigners are buying up America and subverting the domestic base of the American dream", (Smith, 1989, 8), (38).

Other countries have lived for longer in a closer association with economic interdependence, but American attitudes to forces that must be regarded as inherent in the international system of the late 20th century are often rooted in a pathological designation of the situation. The malaise metaphor runs like a thread through much of the contemporary discourse, stoked even higher by the recent addition of the

'decline hypothesis' (39). Dr. Alan Greenspan, Director of the Federal Reserve, argued

we are looking at an unprecedented period in American history. What's going on internationally is dominating our domestic economy. (Intercom 108, 1)

In the aftermath of the Strength Through Wisdom Report, many expected increased federal funding to be channelled into international education. Although changed political leadership at the White House and subsequent cutbacks in federal expenditure prevented this, there were some signs of federal activity. Cultural diplomacy was revamped for the new decade. In 1981 the ICA was told to expect a 12% decrease in funding. It was decided that the bulk of the cuts could be absorbed by the exchange programmes, and plans were made to cut the Fulbright and International Visitor programmes by 50%. A vocal coalition representing many interests sprang to the defence of the threatened programmes. Emphasising the "critical importance of international educational exchange to the security and competence of the United States", (International Education, Spring 1986, p.48), the International Educational Exchange Liaison Group strongly recommended increased appropriations for two federal agencies (ICA and AID) firstly in order to reverse the "severe decline in funding over the past decade", and secondly to expand exchange programmes in order to enhance national security. A telling example of the Group's line of argument goes:

A recent international crisis offers an example of the utility of federal support for exchanges. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, Washington sought the guidance of those with first-hand knowledge of the area. Almost without exception...they were alumni of federally funded exchange programs. Yet the numbers of exchanges which build such expertise have been in decline for the last decade, so

much so that in real terms it is now operating at 60% of 1965 levels. If the erosion of US influence and power internationally is serious enough to necessitate a \$33 billion increase in defense spending, is not an equally substantial increase called for to provide an American 'arsenal of ideas'? (p.50)

The document refers to federal funding as a catalyst for the private sector. Claiming that a uniquely American 'multiplier effect' operates because federally sponsored exchanges stimulate and encourage extensive counterpart funds (e.g., the IIE and CIEE), the Group argues that a little federal money goes a long way. Yet only the federal authorities can supply a national strategy for coordination and programme planning, because the definition of the national interest is the responsibility of government.

Exchange programs represent vital instrumentalities with which to create a world more amenable to American values and national security...By increasing its investment in educational exchange the US can reverse the decline of American influence abroad and extend American competence in world affairs. (p. 530), (40)

The lobbying effort successfully resisted the attempts to curb expenditure. Congress rejected the ICA cuts, and earmarked \$100m of the ICA budget for international exchange programmes in fiscal year 1982, an increase of 12% over the previous year. In the longer term though, funding levels varied. Increases in USIA (formerly ICA) appropriations in 1985 and 1986 were mainly targeted on the Fulbright-Hays exchange programmes, and reductions followed in 1987. A zero budget was proposed for NDEA Title VI in 1984 and 1985, though in each case Congress voted funds on a modest scale (41).

The 1984 US Department of Education reorganisation of its Office of International Programs indicates the respon-



siveness of the federal authorities to trade-based definitions of interdependence. A new Center for International Education was created. Some responsibilities were transferred to USIA, and NDEA Center administration was allocated to one of the two new divisions in the Center, Advanced Training and Research. The other division, International Studies, took responsibility for undergraduate programmes. Another aspect of federal pump-priming in the 1980s was the decision to allocate funds to the Higher Education Act Title VI, Part B, (Business and International Education) offering matching grants to qualified institutions and those parts of the business community engaged in international economic activity. Congress originally expanded Title VI to include Part B in 1980, though the first appropriation of \$1m was not made until 1983 (42).

In his submission to the National Commission on Excellence in Education, Husén notes a *déjà vu* sense of the post-sputnik syndrome. In the wake of stagflation and receding competitive power on the international market, education again became a matter of critical concern (1982, 6). The Carnegie Corporation argued for vital educational improvements in the push for greater economic competitiveness, and this had to mean federal involvement:

the argument for federal action is that there is a pressing need that the states and the private sector cannot meet alone. Moreover, with a mobile population and an increasingly specialized economy the benefits of education accrue to the nation as a whole and not just to any one state or locality... The nation needs [apart from highly trained scientists and technicians] persons skilled in foreign languages essential for economic growth as well as diplomacy and world understanding... National leadership for a sustained period of time is essential to keep the nation's feet to the fire. (Carnegie 1983, 2 - 4)

Revised definitions of national security stressing economic interdependence, already visible during the 1970s, became well-established by the mid-1980s. The threat of declining federal support for the agencies of international education established in previous decades, under earlier rationales, stimulated the search for more compelling and relevant arguments to secure support. Not surprisingly, these arguments identified skills and knowledge deficits in terms of the global marketplace. One source of potential support was the States, and developments in this sector are examined in the next section.

#### The Role of the States

Many states have clearly taken the lead in the arena of education and economic growth. Federal legislation should recognize state and local leadership and encourage a bottom-up approach to program priorities. (Carnegie, 1983, p.5)

In the absence of a coherent federal policy, a fragmented reaction to perceived economic threats has evolved. Special interest groups clamorously offered different short-term remedies. A strong element of regionalism has developed, with the States becoming more involved in policy development concerning international economic activity and its connotations in the educational sector. States pay one-third of the costs of higher education, and State Governors have not been slow to perceive a link between the economic viability of manufacturing and service companies in the international marketplace and the skills and orientations of the local workforce (43). Initiatives have been launched by both Republican and Democrat State Governors, for example, Clinton (Dem. Arkansas) and Kean (Rep. New Jersey). Forty-nine State Governors have visited Japan in the last few years

(NGA, 1986, 5).

Legislation relating to global education requirements at secondary level has been passed in three states - Arkansas, California, and Florida, and is being introduced in several others (44). The NCFLIS and GPE Long Range Program Plan suggests that:

perhaps the most promising targets...are the states. Most education organizations focus attention upon the federal government even though most of the funds for education come from the state and local education agencies. *Given the determined gubernatorial leadership to build economic prosperity through increased exporting and direct foreign investment, it is a propitious time to concentrate on state initiatives.* It is time to bring the economic promoters and the education leaders of the states together to build partnerships in the promotion of international education, (emphasis added). (p. 49)

The Southern Governors' Cornerstone of Competition report is a good example of the state-based mobilisation of political, business and education elites in favour of international education. Council membership included state governors, William Fulbright, the Director of Bell South, the VPs of Pan Am and of IBM, the Chief of the Division of Educational Policy at the World Bank, the President of Remington, the Chairman of the Ford Foundation, a former Deputy Director of the CIA, plus assorted college presidents. The tone of the report is advertorial:

The federal government has failed in its responsibility to ensure an adequate level of language and area study expertise in this country. In addition, educational exchange programmes have become a convenient target for federal budget cutters, We must make the connection between survey results that show American students are unable to read maps...and our economic and political difficulties in the world today...International education needs to be seen not as a luxury but as an educational basic. (Cornerstone, 7-10)

Economic issues are pinpointed, such as the importance of

exports to the Southern economy. Political observations are also made:

Americans do not realize the effect our international ignorance has on our national security. Time and time again we become subject to surprise...because we did not understand the events that we had some inkling were underway. We have become very good at counting things, and very poor at projecting the challenges we are likely to face, and that is a result of the lack of deep understanding of [how other societies] are changing. (*ibid.* 18)

Singled out for increased support are student and teacher exchanges since "we sometimes forget that exchange students grow up to become men and women with power and responsibility" (p.20). The Report spells out why State initiatives are vital:

State governments are the major formulators of educational policy in this country... Also, states have taken a more active role in economic development issues, including international trade. The challenge is at the state level. If a governor works to bring educators and business leaders into the effort, his or her state will be the one to reap the rewards. (*ibid.* 23)

Such appeals to enlightened self-interest occasioned a number of state-based initiatives, (including one which directly impacted the case study college described in Chapter Five). The political significance of this shift should not be underestimated. Traditionally the States have often been parochial in their outlook, if not downright xenophobic. Enhanced awareness of their position as actors in the international marketplace has coincided with their renewed interest in educational reform, with one result being an emphasis on the international dimensions of curriculum and pedagogy. A side effect of this process is that international education professionals must now build up their contacts at the State level in order to lobby effectively - another example of how

the global affects the local.

### Business as Usual?

A review of US international education literature of the mid- to late-1980s, suggests a new orientation towards economic objectives. Previous orientations were more commonly couched in strategic terms, though the two are not unrelated. By the mid-1980s, the relative absence of international confrontation meant that the only visible national 'emergency' was the rising budget deficit, leading to a situation where an economic definition of national interest held sway. In higher education the language of economic mobilisation is now used to justify curricula that are ostensibly designed to help "beat" Japan, the European Community, and other economic competitors.

Two articles by Groennings (1982, 1987) illustrate the raised profile of the business rationale over a five year period. In the first, Groennings (at that time Director of the Department of Education's Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education - FIPSE) suggests that higher education innovations in international education should proceed by way of the establishment of four beachheads: the liberal arts curriculum, foreign language competency, teacher education and internationalizing the business curriculum.

With regard to the latter, Groennings pointed out that Business School curricula were exceptionally insular until the reforming intentions of the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) made themselves felt. This change of attitude came about as one of the results of the joint project of AACSB and the European Foundation for Management Education in the late 1970s. The accreditation

standards adopted by AACSB in 1980 called for the incorporation of international business perspectives into the courses taken by every undergraduate business student. Comments by American business faculty indicate that this initiative has only had partial success, perhaps because it has the status of a recommendation rather than an accreditation requirement (45). In 1982, Groennings appeared satisfied that campus creativity and educators' prescience would suffice to produce sufficient amounts of international education. However, the extent of the shift in emphasis, and the correspondingly greater reliance on a more strident Realist message, is shown in the second article.

In this he argues that it is imperative for American higher education to respond to "the new business systems and the global economy which is based on new ways of thinking" (1987, 472). Arguing that competitiveness has become the nation's leading problem, he suggests that tackling the issue requires an interrelated set of strategic approaches involving the three major sectors of government, business and higher education. Citing a New England survey of 824 corporate, government and higher education leaders on the participation of New England in the global economy, he reports:

All the leadership groups [in all three sectors] listed in first place: *Design an undergraduate curriculum that ensures understanding of a global economy.* That is stunning, not only because it is new, but also because it is not happening anywhere, (his italics), (1987, 474)

Groennings reviews a number of international education initiatives, comments on growing participation in study abroad programmes, and notes the growth of linkages with foreign universities. However, he comments critically on the

"weak connections" between this "surging internationalization of the campus" and the globalization of the economy, arguing that the liberal arts, social science and humanities orientations towards international education are essentially the answers to 'yesterday's problems'. A 'beefed up' global economics distribution requirement should be considered, while at the same time business students should be more forcefully encouraged to take foreign language courses. He asserts that the rising tide of reports on the quality of tertiary education in the US since the early 1980s, all of which have called for an increased emphasis on the international dimension are gradually exerting their influence. He also comments approvingly on the "nascent but accelerating internationalization of the academic disciplines" (1987, 477), (46).

The earlier article reflects the narrower scope characteristic of the first part of the decade with prescriptions dependent on the goodwill, voluntarism and foresight of the academic community. The later one argues for the internationalising of the *whole apparatus* of American higher education, by encouraging international institutional links, turning faculty and students into transnational actors and building on their subsequent networks and orientations.

A more recent and rawer example of the business rationale comes from Mylle H. Bell, Director, Corporate Planning, Bell South Corporation at a conference on Education and International Competence in St. Louis in May 1988:

I come before you as a businesswoman who believes that in the interest of this nation's prosperity - not its moral fiber, not its creative spirit, not its cultural passions, (although all these are impor-

tant), but its prosperity - we've got to retune our educational system to the realities of a new global dance... From where I stand, it's clear businesses have a lot at stake in education... So we recently endowed a \$35m foundation because we strongly believe a business has a responsibility to identify areas it can help improve, and we hope other corporations will follow this example. We've got to teach... tomorrow's managers, executives and entrepreneurs... to think differently... creatively, to learn the language of the global economy. [If we don't], the marketplace will inevitably discard companies who aren't - yes, the dreaded "c-word" - competitive. (Access, Dec. 1988, 2-3)

This represents as clear a colloquial statement of the realist-interdependence perspective as could be wished, and illustrates how the advocacy rationales for international education affect its orientation, its functions and its form.

#### Summary

This chapter has established a range of factors contributing to the development of US international education from 1945 to the late 1980s. The shift in the strategic and economic position of the US was emphasised, together with consequent adjustments in attitudes and priorities. It was argued that the early need for international education was seen in terms of an arsenal of knowledge for use against a known adversary, whereas contemporary justifications are conceived in terms of the commercial skills needed to compete effectively in the global marketplace.

The postwar context for international education was dominated by the concern to develop the expertise that a newly-emerged world power required in order to successfully manage the bi-polar global political and military confrontation. Following from this classic definition of national interest a triad of federally supported programmes of enduring importance were developed, focusing on expertise rather



than undergraduate education. Fulbrights stressed expert knowledge, the NDEA Area Studies Centers created expertise, and AID's technical assistance programmes, prompted by Truman's Point Four, exported American assumptions and 'know how' to other countries. The effects of these programmes were generally felt at the professional and doctoral levels.

The next two decades revealed continuity in this realist-nationalist dimension of international education, though elements of the internal agenda also had an impact, particularly those pertaining to multiculturalism and ethnicity. However, by the end of the 1980s, changes were noted in three areas.

Firstly, the emphasis shifted from national security toward a sensitivity to economic change and international competitiveness, with attention increasingly focused on international dimensions in the business curriculum. Secondly, a move away from 'Washington-centredness' and nation-state conceptions of the national interest and towards state-centred and more localised economic interpretations occurred. Thirdly, the undergraduate and general education levels, often with an "informed citizen" element were emphasised, rather than the production of yet more experts, regardless of demand. This paralleled a concern to infuse professional education with international perspectives and competencies.

Higher education in the US selectively responded to the first postwar pressures for internationalisation, occasioned by political and military concerns. A second, wider, response was triggered by the internationalisation of the US economy. These changes have been most marked during the 1980s. The word "competitive" only appears once in the

Preface to Strength Through Wisdom (p.5), but throughout the decade the concept of competition has become the key to understanding almost the entire American international education discourse.

In this context it is easy to see why certain international economic problems arising from interdependence should now be regarded as "security" problems. Given the US constitutional arrangement largely limiting federal activity in education to matters pertaining to national security or vocational training, elements of the international education lobby have had to align themselves closely with a 'nationalist' agenda in order to secure political and financial support. The mobilisation of resources for national security purposes is enhanced when there is a developed public understanding of international affairs, but in order to develop that understanding there has to be more international education - a vicious or a virtuous circle?

The structure of the argument of this chapter also serves as a template for the following chapter on the development of European international education. US international educators have taken international to imply a redefinition of US interests in relation to the world at large. America sees international education as global in focus and as providing a coping strategy to deal with the unanticipated constraints of superpower status. While this orientation characterises US international education, Chapter Four will point to its absence in the European context.

The focus in this chapter on specific American sub-structural factors and ideological orientations demands a

parallel comparative framework in the next. It will be part of the argument to point to the absence or presence of factors that were considered significant in the American case. This particularly refers to such factors as market or state-orientations, educational goals, attitudes to civic awareness and participation and the existence and effectiveness of interest groups.

## Footnotes

(1) Despite the passage of 2.2 million veterans through college as a result of the G.I. Bill, education in the 1950s was oriented more towards "life adjustment" rather than academic learning. In the late 1940's only 20.6% of high school pupils studied a foreign language, compared with 83.3% in 1910; nearly 50% of all high schools offered no foreign language instruction at all. (O'Neill, 116 - 119).

(2) The American reaction to Soviet technological and geopolitical challenges had much in common with other Western responses (education as an agency of national planning and the human capital concept), as explored in Bowen, ch 15.

(3) Figures derived from The Chronicle of Higher Education, August 28 1991, p. 3. Boyer (1987) however, suggests a lower figure of 70%. This may simply reflect data derived from earlier in the 1980s. Stevens in *Tax Dollars and the Idea of the University*, The Atlantic Community Quarterly, Winter 1987-88, 451-453, illustrates the rise of student enrollment in public institutions from 48% in 1930, through 60% in 1956, to the current 78%. (p.447)

(4) The European state was securely entrenched before industrialisation occurred, and therefore its consent had to be sought before private initiatives could be taken, since the state was the guarantor of internal order and external security. Relatively early in the process of industrialisation, capitalist enterprise was subjected to strong state bureaucracies that articulated and implemented policies. This experience was not shared by the US. From early in the 19th century it was the undisputed hemispheric power, and this fundamental security which lasted until very recently, allowed business and decentralised authority to become central to its culture, its polity and its economy. This unique form of Western social development was characterised by relatively weak bureaucracies, an anti-state ethos, and other institutional reflections of political culture. "These characteristics represent a particular way of doing things buttressed by a particular set of values." (Pearson, 5). As Burton Clark remarks, the United States *qua* national system [in comparison with other national systems] remains the most heavily endowed with characteristics of autonomous choice and exchange in the labour markets, consumer markets, and enterprise markets of higher education (1978b, 21).

Kerr and Gade comment:

the dominance of market forces in American higher education has come about for a variety of reasons: the historical lack of central political or bureaucratic institutions that could guide development of the system in its early days; 'the concept of markets in higher education is a way of talking about the many actors in the system making decisions..' (Trow, 69).

(5) This linking became a fashionable pursuit in the mid-

eighties, see the introduction in Altbach, Kelly, & Lulat (1985, 1-39).

(6) Lambert's recent discussion of Area Studies in the US makes the same point, recognising that the laissez-faire system has produced almost a pure market profile for this area of "intellectual enterprise...[elsewhere this is] determined by the interests of public policy," (Lambert 1991, 171-2).

(7) A cautionary note has been struck recently by a Dutch survey which compares government influence on H.E. in the USA and W. Europe. The partly mythologised entrepreneurial freedom of US universities appears to be based on somewhat atypical famous private and public institutions, along with "the poorly understood character of constitutional government in Europe." Nevertheless, on the basis of working and archival knowledge of the two systems, the author of this thesis maintains that significant differences do exist. *Myth of American Exceptionalism, The Higher*, March 27th 1992, 12.

(8) See, for example, P.Bachrach & M.Baratz, *Two Faces of Power*, APSR, Vol. 56, 1962; W. Schattschneider, *Decisions and Non-decisions*, APSR, Vol. 57, 1963, 632-642. Bridget Pym's *Pressure Groups and the Permissive Society*, 1974 explored how 'out' groups may strive to become 'in' groups - i.e. will align themselves closer to the conventional definitions of respectability and consensus.

(9) Callahan (1961, 154 - 164) puts considerable stress on the negative and limiting consequences.

(10) if an American were condemned to confine his activity to his own affairs, he would be robbed of one half of his existence - the interests of the community..... Everyone in his sphere takes an active part in the government of society. (de Tocqueville, n.d., Vol 1, 260)

(11) See also Almond & Verba, *The Civic Culture*, 1963 and Carol Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, 1973. However, it should be noted that the methodology of these studies has been criticised for being ethnocentric; they also are based on research carried out in the 1960s and 1970s, when the American public was more politically participative than seems to be the case today.

(12) See Kornhauser *The Politics of Mass Society*, 1960, and Arendt *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1951.

(13) In conversation with James Gillis, U.K.Programme Director, AIFS, March 22nd, 1989.

(14) Starting with the observation that in Los Angeles in 1953 UN and UNESCO material was removed from schools as it was deemed subversive and un-American, he goes on to comment on the (not uniquely) American tendency to see America as 'the greatest land of all' with a virtually God-given mission to bestow the benefits of American civilisation and capitalism upon the rest of the world. This idealistic

nationalism has led some to:

be fearful of words like internationalism, world-mindedness and world citizenship... We also closely associate patriotism with the military... From the beginning, nationalism has been an essential part of the American democratic faith. Nationalism has been the core of the doctrine of the mission of the United States... It is no great exaggeration to say that developing citizens loyal to our country is the first concern of American schools... but it is obvious that such a practice would make international understanding more difficult. (Callahan, 1961, 156 - 157)

More recently, Phyllis Schafly writing in the *St. Louis Democrat*, complained that global education "threatens to censor out American history, ban patriotism, and indoctrinate the error of equivalence," (*Access*, 1989, No. 83, 5). In 1989, the University of Colorado at Denver had to refrain from its international education outreach activities (mandated by its NDEA Title VI grant) to local "magnet" high schools because of right wing pressure at the level of the University Trustees; "global took on a pejorative tone," (Professor James B. Wolf, International Studies Unit, University of Colorado, Denver, in Roundtable discussion on Strategies for Internationalizing the Campus, International Studies Association 30th Annual Convention, London, March 30th 1989).

The nationalist perspective is common to all educational systems since it fosters an easily assimilated sense of solidarity, binds people to their own nation, and provides a sense of identity. As Connell points out,

nationalism was assiduously cultivated in schools... the national rivalries of the early 20th century prompted educators to devise ways of increasing pupil's knowledge of their own country, its history and its interests. (Connell, 6)

He goes on to suggest that the nationalist emphasis constituted the first of three phases in the politicisation of education, the other two being the attempt to gear education into the provision of greater socio-economic and political justice, and the efforts to use education to 'save' society from itself, an active agency of social change. There are obvious parallels throughout with the variety of emphases and orientations of international education.

This construction of a national identity was particularly important in a country such as the United States with its vast and disparate immigrant population, and it remains significant today in the light of America's sense of mission (*vide* President Reagan's valedictory address in January 1989 projecting an image of America as a 'shining city on a hill' and 'mankind's last best hope'). The acceptability and progress of international education operates within the tensions between these different American proclivities towards populist democracy and nationalism.

(15) See R.A. McCaughey's aptly titled *In the Land of the*

*Blind: American International Studies in the 1930s*, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 449, May 1980 (Special Edition: *New Directions in International Education*), 1-16. He argues that prior to WWII, American interest in international studies existed mainly *outside* of the formal academic setting of the university, the main actors being returned US citizens with overseas experience. Lambert (1991) reaffirms that missionaries and journalists were the main source of foreign expertise up until WWII, and that these were supplemented after the war by returning military personnel.

(16) These outreach programmes were often built upon earlier overseas Christian missionary links - for example the University of Massachusetts, Amherst established East Africa and Japanese connections and has continued to build upon these to the present. Spaulding & Colucci cite the University of Pittsburgh's Center for International Studies as an example of this type of growth, but point out that outreach programmes offering expertise were also taken up with enthusiasm by the professional schools in agriculture, education, public health, engineering, etc. This growing involvement of Americans in the development of education and training systems of the "new nations" of Africa and Asia gave a fillip to American scholarship in comparative education, policy studies and the social sciences.

(17) It is acknowledged that Fulbright is a postgraduate sector programme, but its symbolic power and influence is such that it has to be seen as a generic influence on US international education.

(18) IIE *Newsletter*, September, 1986, p. 2.

(19) See Beverly Lindsay, *Integrating International Education and Public Diplomacy: Creative Partnerships or Ingenious Propaganda?*, in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 33, No.4, December, 1989, 423-436. Lindsay cites a member of the Fulbright Scholar Selection Board as saying "the program is to further international understanding, *but within the interests of the United States*. The program was not created to further academic careers per se, and it does not belong to the academic community" (433; her emphasis added).

(20) Nevertheless, it is difficult to be categorical about the separation of the different orientations of international education for mutual awareness and international education as public diplomacy (people to people levels of interaction).

(21) See also Charles Frankel, 1965.

(22) Berman suggests the interweaving of six elements in accounting for foundation activities. Stemming from a particular US managerial (political and commercial) *weltanschauung* which sought 'progressive' amelioration of capitalism's human problems while concurrently attempting to ensure the continued growth and expansion of the very system that created such problems. The foundations evolved a philo-

sophy that supported this historic American 'progressive-conservatism', and they carried this over to buttress the post-1945 ideological formulas of the Cold War. Berman describes how the foundations, often in collaboration with federal agencies, implemented programmes in an international drive to establish a 'pax americana' by supporting lead universities in the LDCs, funding public administration and teacher training programmes and underwriting exchange programmes. The aim was to socialise generations and networks, teachers and institutions into the ideology of the American elite. He agrees that the foundations played a seminal role in the early stages of Area Studies, but he goes further in suggesting that their input was decisive in other ways - in defining the content and orientation of regional studies, and in deeply influencing social science theories of development that remained dominant until challenged in the 1970s. He further points to foundation activity in influencing policy formation by funding a vast array of forums and organisations which undertook extensive research programmes operating within Cold War parameters. He concludes by suggesting that the outlook and stance of the foundations is both a cause and an effect of a technocratic consciousness which misunderstands apolitical expertise and overemphasises a flawed evaluative process; both are ultimately rooted in the unaccountability of philanthropic foundations in American political life. It is helpful to keep this sharp critique in focus, alongside the more benign interpretations of foundation intervention in the field of international education - for example, Arnove (1983).

(23) George E. Urch, *The World and the American Classroom: Act III*; paper presented at the European Development Education Curriculum Network's 2nd International Conference on Development Education, April 17th, 1985, p.3. As well as eliciting comments from all and sundry, retired generals and high school teachers, the launch of Sputnik occasioned a rash of publications by eminent scholars based at prestigious universities and research institutes. In 1958 The Technology Press of M.I.T. published works by Kindleberger and Rostow on the economic threat posed by the the Sino-Soviet bloc. See also A. Karol Soviet Education For Science and Technology, New York: M.I.T./Wiley, 1958.

(24) LBJ was quite vocal on educational matters, occasionally pulling out all of the rhetorical stops in a folksy rendition of education in the service of the national interest:

the partnership of campus and country is an old and fruitful American partnership. That partnership was forged in 1787 when our forefathers gave us the command that "The means of education shall forever be encouraged." From that Northwest Ordinance to the Land Grant College Act, from the Smith-Hughes Act to the present Congress, America has kept faith with that command. In all history, no other nation has trusted education, invested in it, or relied upon it as a means to national progress so much as we. At the desk where I sat in Washington, I learned one great truth: the answer for all our national problems, for



all the problems of the world, comes down, when you really analyze it to one single word - education. We have an opportunity that is not unlike that of the men and women who first formed these New England states...the opportunity to plant the seed corn of a new greatness, and to harvest its yield in every section of this world. (*The Partnership of Campus and Country, International Education*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Spring 1973, 9-10).

(25) The Brademas Report: Selected Readings in Support of the International Education Act, House Document 527, US 89th Congress, Washington, D.C., October, 1966.

(26) The continuing close relationship of international education and cultural diplomacy was vividly explored at the EAIE Workshop on Cultural Diplomacy, Amsterdam, December 7th 1990. Millions of dollars are spent annually by the US, France, Spain, Germany, Britain and Italy on cultural diplomacy, the benefits of which are admitted to be 'intangible'. At this well-attended session the question of whether the European Community should expand cultural diplomatic objectives outside the Community - a regional rather than a national orientation - was explored. The British Council spokesman was pragmatic in his justification for expenditure: "if you know the literature, cities, culture, etc., you're more likely to sell to them; British cultural diplomacy is ends-oriented towards the export of British goods and services, and cultural relations are designed to create the right mood." As commerce follows the flag, it seems culture follows commerce! The whole question gave rise to some heated exchanges between the French, Italians, Spanish and British representatives of learning and culture in the service of national and linguistic interests. In all cases though, it was clear that higher education institutions are agents of cultural relations.

(27) This conceptualisation uses Strange's model, but is also derived from the virtually identical description employed by Burn & Perkins in *International Education in a Troubled World*, in *Annals*, AAPSS, Vol. 449, May 1980, 18-19.

(28) See Clark Kerr's list compiled at the end of the decade in his *Introduction* to Burn, 1980, xxiv.

(29) Interviews with Barbara Burn, M. Archer Brown and Valerie Woolston - June 1989.

(30) Data from the Potomac Associates poll shows a gradual decline of internationalist sentiment from 1964 to 1972, followed by a sharp decline between 1972 -74 (the critical years of 'Vietnamization' and the oil crisis), and a continued low level through the rest of the decade. Cited by Black & Bonham in *The Council on Learning Project on Undergraduate Education: Education and the World View*, *Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol 449, May 1980, 103

(31) His research indicates that US mass public attitudes

fall into two clear categories of militant (stress on anti-communism, military activism and interventionism) and cooperative (emphasis on détente, foreign aid and good relations with foreign powers) internationalism. Elite attitudes are less easily characterised, but reflect "selective" internationalism, and are consistently less hardline and isolationist than mass attitudes.

(32) For example, the Wingspread Conferences sponsored by the Johnson Foundation, covered international education issues throughout the decade as experienced by community colleges (1978) and four year colleges (1976) to name but two; the Council for International Studies and Programs, in cooperation with the New York State Dept. of Education, and the State University of New York published a series of studies on strategies for introducing international and intercultural education to the undergraduate curriculum, including Ehrman and Morehouse, Students, Teachers and the Third World in The American College Curriculum, (1972), and Williamsen and Morehouse, International/Intercultural Education in the Four year College: A Handbook on Strategies for Change, (1977).

(33) The Helsinki Accords recommended that signatory states should "encourage the study of foreign languages and civilisations as an important means of expanding communication among peoples" (Strength Through Wisdom, 1), as well as encouraging educational exchanges among the 35 signatories.

(34) Particularly interesting in terms of the dominant rationales employed later on, in the 1980s, was the Rand finding that large private businesses in America were not generally interested in recruiting people with language and area skills because they had developed a system based on using host country nationals in responsible overseas posts. There were two reasons cited for this - better command of relevant skills by natives, and responsiveness to nationalist aspirations in the host country; there were already far too many expatriate Americans, and they expected an absolute or relative decline in numbers. Rand also found that such practices were also characteristic of foreign corporations, so this was not necessarily a myopic American tendency. It is also clear that Rand's findings contradict the conclusions of the Presidential Commission which suggested that because federal subsidy of language and area studies was declining, fewer students took such courses and the consequence of this decline is the weakening of America's national security, including her international trading position. The Commission criticised American institutions for responding to this situation with complacency. Assessments based on past practice led managers to underestimate the real need for expertise in these areas, and the resultant damage to America's competitive edge in international commerce, and repeated unpreparedness for events overseas, were all taken to illustrate the pitfalls of federal parsimony. It therefore recommended that the Government ought to do something (i.e. spend money, to the tune of \$245 million p.a.) about this lamentable state of affairs in order to supply greater numbers of suitably oriented and skilled people, which in

turn would stimulate a higher level of demand; if the demand is currently weak, then change the market! This amounts to an academic version of trickle-down theory, and it is no small wonder that the Rand report was used highly selectively in the evidence amassed by the Commission.

(35) The special edition of *Saturday Review* entitled 'Embattled America', July 7 1979, underlined the impact of disturbing trends on the American economy; the Chairman of Chase Manhattan warned: "The US is at a critical crossroads in the international marketplace..do we have the strength and will to meet the challenges?" Adlai Stevenson: "our economic maladies are rooted in our failure to face the realities of global interdependence and intensifying competition for the world's markets and supplies," (p. 34). This bears a fascinating resemblance to an editorial in *The Times* in the early years of the 20th century:

others have learned our lessons and bettered our instructions while we have been too easily contented to rely upon methods effective a generation ago. What made us rich and great has been superseded by newer discoveries and methods (source unknown).

(36) *Global Perspectives in Education (GPE)* which later (Spring 1989) became *American Forum*, in an attempt to avoid the "unpatriotic connotations of global and international" (interview with Jamie Cloud, Assistant Director, *American Forum*, June 10th 1989).

It has been suggested that a little of the sourness that crept into Lambert's commentaries on the Report stemmed from Lambert's exclusion from the Commission. This reminder that personal factors and professional judgement are often intertwined is of particular relevance in the adversarial world of American educational politics. During the US interviews in June 1989 many respondents portrayed prominent international education advocates in a negative light, the field seeming rather politicised.

(37) In March 1988, the annual national conference of the American Association for Higher Education proffered the theme: 'The Highest Calling: Teaching to Rebuild the Nation', (March 9-12, Washington, D.C.). The Keynote address *Teaching to Rebuild the Nation* was given by the Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton, well known for his interest in international education, (he served on Clark Kerr's Study Commission on Global Education funded by Ford, Exxon and Rockefeller), and is active in the Southern Governors' Association efforts to stimulate international business activity in the South.

In April 1987 the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges International/Intercultural Consortium ran a preconvention conference in Dallas on the theme: 'Participating In the International Agenda.' (AACJC 67th Annual Convention, April 22-25 1987.

Conferences of this ilk ran alongside the outpouring of special reports with alarmist titles that proliferated

throughout the 1980s; A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century: The Report of the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy), 1986; Global Competition: The New Reality. (Report of the President's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness), 1985; Action For Excellence, (Task Force on Education and the Economy: Education Commission of the States), 1983; A Nation At Risk, (The National Commission on Excellence in Education), 1983; Time For Results: The Governors' 1991 Report on Education, (National Governors' Association), 1985; International Education: Cornerstone of Competition, (Report of the Southern Governors' Association Advisory Council on International Education), 1986.

(38) Over half the students in Goodlad's 1984 survey "believed that foreign countries and their ideas are dangerous to American government," cited in The United States Prepares For Its Future, Global Perspectives in Education Inc., New York, (no date, [1987?], 27). Countless young Americans the author has had contact with over the last few years have, without prompting blamed domestic ills in the manufacturing sector on 'unfair competition' from abroad, primarily Japan.

(39) See, for example, R.O. Keohane, After Hegemony, and P. Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers.

(40) Other sources suggest an additional, non-economic, multiplier effect occurs through the AID programmes, whereby the Agricultural and Engineering Schools that bore the brunt of foreign student enrollment become the first departments to incorporate an international dimension to their curriculum, to send faculty abroad and, later on, to show an earlier inclination than many other departments - including the Humanities and the Social Sciences - to establish exchange programmes with overseas universities. (Rudolph, 264; conversations with Dr Woolston, Director, Office of International Education, U of Maryland; Dr Johns, Dean of the School of Engineering, U Mass. at Amherst, June 1989).

(41) Figures taken from The Chronicle of Higher Education, April 28, 1982, 10; ISIS, (Newsletter of Council for International Studies and Programs - CISP), Vol. 12, Nos. 4 & 5, 1984, Vol. 13, Nos. 1 & 3, 1985, Vol 14, No, 3, 1986; IIE Newsletter, June 1987.

(42) The purpose of the awards is to (i) increase and promote the nation's capacity for enterprise by providing suitable training for business personnel, and (ii) promote institutional and non-institutional educational and training activities that will contribute to the ability of US business to prosper in an international economy. Applications must come jointly from educational and business organisations in active partnership. Sources: ISIS Vol 11, No. 6, Summer 1983, 6, and Access No. 65, October 1986, 8, and IBC documents.

An example of the activities of the International Business Center of the Department of Education was their sponsorship

of a seminar (at the 1989 International Studies Association Convention in London), chaired by the Director, Susanna Easton and involving the Minister for Commerce from the US Embassy, several representatives of US-based corporations and many academics. Easton claimed that the \$2m annual budget of her Center had done more for business-oriented international education than the oft-cited American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) decision in the early 1980s to recommend an international requirement in the postgraduate programmes they accredited.

(43) Staffs of Global Perspectives in Education (GPE) and The National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies (NCFLIS), Draft Long Range Program Plan, (internal document), New York, March, 1987, 6.

(44) Florida and California are often cited as harbingers of such reforms, both states having committed bureaucratic and fiscal resources to international education by the mid-1980s.

(45) Conversations with members of the School of Business, University of Southern California, London Semester Program, February, 1989.

(46) An interesting exploration of this dimension of international education is found in Easton & Schelling (1991).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

The EEC endeavour is the greatest of all intentionally planned experiments with the internationalisation (or at least regionalisation) of learning yet undertaken. (Clark Kerr, 1990, p.16)

Chapters Three and Four are parallel investigations of the structural and cultural contexts within which US and European international education developed. This chapter examines European international education, focusing on elements that distinguish it from its transatlantic analogue.

As before, two principles guide the investigation:

- (i) shifts in the economic and political position of the region concerned in the global system, (realist), and internal reflections of these shifts (which can be both realist and idealist), and
- (ii) the role played by regionally specific structural and cultural factors.

#### Purpose

The underlying purpose is to compare European with US international education in order that differences may be perceived and explained. This chapter explores how and why European international education differs in orientation, function and, to some extent form, from US patterns. European international education will be portrayed as a knowledge sector manifestation of the process of European economic and political integration. The development of European international education will be linked to the main agency that propagates it, the European Community (EC). The chapter will contend that European international education

functions at the integration end of the 'international' spectrum compared to that of the US which is interdependence-oriented. It will identify student mobility, in its characteristic EC-sponsored forms (ERASMUS and COMETT), as primarily regiocentric in orientation. This regiocentrism encompasses both realist and idealist aspects of European integration.

Taken together, Chapters Three and Four provide an historical and structurally-based account of the macro-level political, economic and sociocultural influences that define the patterns of international education in the two areas under review. The problem of comparability between the US and Europe is acknowledged and responded to below.

#### Argument

It is argued that the changing relationships of Western European countries towards one another, and that of the region as a whole to the world-system, constitute a pervasive influence on the development of European international education. Since the 1950s the most important regional activity has been the project through which economic and, possibly, socio-political integration are being negotiated (\*see p. 179a).

It is asserted that the orientations, functions and forms of European international education reflect the tensions inherent in the integrative project. Integration encompasses economic, political, cultural and social dimensions, and it can be driven by both realist and idealist perceptions which are visible in European international education.

Because European integration contains realist and idealist, pragmatic and rhetorical, cross-cultural and com-

petitive facets, the chapter highlights these and links them to the forms and functions of European international education.

The argument of this chapter takes into account that in many ways the US and Europe are not directly comparable. Denoting the EC as the major focus of this chapter to some extent resolves the problem of comparing a nation-state with a geographical entity. This chapter compares the EC and the US on the grounds that the Community delivers the most active, most clearly articulated and most widespread international education ever seen on the Continent.

### Structure

The comparison follows the three analytical categories established in Chapter Three:

1. the terms in which the discourse of European international education operates;
2. the means by which it is advocated and promoted, and
3. the dominant forms in which it has been supplied.

This is accomplished by covering similar areas to those adopted in Chapter Three: political and historical elements, educational system characteristics, cultural and value orientations and the agencies and vehicles through which international education is delivered above the level of individual establishments. Because the advent of European international education occurred later than in the US - as a large-scale, politically and educationally significant phenomenon, it can be dated from the mid-1970s - the chronological form is somewhat attenuated compared with Chapter Three (1).



Part One considers the postwar roots of European integration and traces the origins of the European Community. This is essential since the EC has become the dominant factor in the development of European international education. Movements toward pan-European planning in the areas of Research & Development (R&D) and information technology (IT) are then outlined, because the issues raised in this context relate directly to the realist rationales subsequently advanced for an EC education policy.

Part Two examines selected factors that lie outside the formal ambit of the EC but which clearly influenced the orientation, forms and functions of EC international education and which can be compared with US factors:

(a) characteristics of European undergraduate educational systems and traditions, since they influence international education;

(b) European cultural politics, as illustrated by the Deutsch-Englisches Gesellschaft and their Königswinter conference series, since European international education bears strong traces of idealist concern for cross-cultural understanding and peaceful coexistence.

(c) non-EC pan-European organisations that have consistently addressed educational concerns; here the contributions of the Council of Europe will be evaluated.

Part Three surveys the emergence and development of Community policy and practice in international education in three sections. The first encompasses the early stage up to the mid-1970s. The bridge between this phase and contemporary practice is seen in terms of the Masclet Report, examined in the second section. Section Three deals with the evolu-

tion of EC policies with particular reference to the emerging forms of European international education that stressed mobility.

In Part Four the character and orientation of the ERASMUS and COMETT schemes are compared and contrasted. The chapter concludes by arguing that these schemes exemplify the orientation, function and form of European international education which can then be differentiated from US international education. After the main arguments have been summarised, the Chapter ends with a comparative overview of the structurally influenced differences between US and EC international education.

#### Part One - Post-war Europe and European Integration

Part One grounds the discussion of EC international education in an account of the post-war processes of European integration. The establishment of the EEC will be viewed in terms related to the concerns of this thesis. Links will be established between EC policies on competition, information technology (IT), human resource development and the subsequent orientations and functions of Community education policies.

The argument developed in Part One is that an affinity exists between the tensions visible in the postwar process of European integration and the orientations of European international education. Juxtapositions of utilitarian and economic, idealist and political rationales are visible in both cases. Secondly, it is argued that the legal and policymaking constraints that EC educational policymaking is subject to were foreshadowed at the establishment of the

Community. Thirdly, it is argued that some knowledge of Community industrial and technology policy is relevant, since this area and its "link" to vocational training was the base upon which the Community's Education Action Plan of 1976 was launched. Part One also argues that, as well as training and technology, two related regiocentric concerns - competitiveness vis à vis the US and Japanese economies, and the desire to forge pan-European bonds at the human and the technical level - later re-emerge in educational mobility policies.

Section One surveys the postwar moves towards integration. Why and how the countries of postwar Europe elected to integrate is part of the argument about both political and economic motivations.

Section Two sketches the establishment of the EEC in order to provide the necessary background to the legal, organisational and policymaking considerations raised in connection with higher education. Again, political and economic emphases are highlighted in order that comparison and classification can be made. Section Three focuses on developments in Community awareness of competitiveness and industrial and technical research and development. Questions raised through the analysis of European technology policy later reappear in relation to European international education. Thus in Part One three contextual perspectives are covered - the macro, the organisational and ideational, and the policymaking framework.

#### Section One - The Process of European Integration

The countries of Europe emerged from the Second World War economically exhausted, and wary of the excesses of

nationalism. They found themselves in a bi-polar world where they were no longer the major actors. Limitations on national sovereignty were experienced in the strategic and economic spheres, and it was into the economic and industrial areas that Jean Monnet first inserted the essentially realist and regiocentric agenda of European integration.

France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries saw recovery based upon increased cooperation, industrial modernisation and economic integration (2). Cooperation between European states was an essential condition of survival, but problems arose over the forms that such cooperation might take. The experience of the war had taught the French and the Germans that even well-intentioned agreement on the broad principles of cooperation might be insufficient, and Monnet's experience at the League of Nations had convinced him that the nation-state was no longer an adequate mechanism for dealing with problems that went beyond its reach. From an early stage Monnet viewed America both as an example to emulate and a power to counterbalance. This led to an almost inseparable strategic and economic realist agenda of European integration. He argued that if Europe was to wield any power in the new world order, some diminution of sovereignty was inevitable, since the US and the USSR had emerged from World War II in a much stronger position, the countries of the old world would have to choose between marginalisation and union. (Fontaine, 7) (3)

At this time, as shown in Chapter Three, American perspectives on security were focused almost exclusively on dominance of the bi-polar military and strategic world

order. An interdependence motif did not emerge until much later. Monnet's realist message entailed integration from the very start. The political themes established by Monnet would later give rise to squabbles within the Community on matters ranging from legality to long-term goals. In Algiers in 1943, Monnet suggested that

there will be no peace in Europe if States are reconstructed on the basis of national sovereignty, with all that that implies in terms of prestige politics and economic protectionism... The nations of Europe are too circumscribed to give their people the prosperity made possible by modern conditions... Prosperity and vital social progress will remain elusive until the nations of Europe form a federation, or European entity which will forge them into a single economic unit. (Fontaine, 20-21)

Monnet's sojourn in the US during the 1930s and 1940s brought the realisation that the removal of trade barriers would be a first step towards the creation of a large 'space' that "would give the Europeans the confidence and dynamism which had so impressed him about America," (Fontaine, 26).

The following quote reiterates the notion of America as an external stimulus to European integration and underscores the politicisation of the process in two ways - concern for strategic 'balance', and the necessary reduction of national sovereignty as a price worth paying for greater regional power:

Cooperation on an equal footing between the United States and a divided, fragmented Europe would be impossible. Equality is possible only now because France and Germany together have begun to build a great European entity with the prospect of becoming a sort of second America. (Monnet, 465).

Though the aims of the founding fathers of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the first institutional manifestation of European integration, were avowedly econo-

mic, the sub-text was political. They hoped to transcend national sovereignty within a supranational union, and they assumed that if national economies were knitted together, a supranational union would develop of its own accord (4). Sooner or later economic integration would lead to political integration. Whether acknowledged at the time or not, the processes leading to economic and political closeness would create a socio-psychological sense of community. The multiple layers of European integration are embedded in these processes.

This means that the complex realist agenda of Europe that would be reflected in the orientation of European international education was very different from that of the US. From the start, the political and the economic were tied together and there was no delay in the perception of vulnerability to changed international circumstances. These were present from the start and constituted an important part in motivating talk of integration. For Europe, integration was more important than interdependence, whose existence had already been accepted as a prerequisite of integration. The process of integration was also subject to a tension between functionalist and neo-functionalist emphases. Despite periodic attempts to restrict integration to the practical and technical problems of 'low politics' - even 'no politics' - the process would inevitably spill over into the more glamorous areas of 'high politics'; or so the theory suggested (5).

#### Section Two - From ECSC to EEC

In the late 1940s Monnet's supervisory roles straddling

both the French Reconstruction Plan and the distribution of Marshall Plan funds through the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), led to the formulation of the Schuman Plan (6). The Schuman Declaration of May 9 1950 stated that the solution to Europe's problems required an entirely new type of organisation. For the first time the idea of a supranational European organisation was suggested for dealing with both short- and long-term problems. One long-term objective was the achievement of European unity as a stabilising force for world peace (Bailey, 9). Within two months France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands had all agreed to consider the proposals, and within the year the Treaty establishing the ECSC had been ratified.

Monnet chose to mark this in his characteristic way:

This proposal has an essentially political objective: to make a breach in the the ramparts of national sovereignty which will be narrow enough to secure consent but deep enough to open the way towards the unity that is essential to peace. (Monnet, 296)

Another long-term objective focused on production and economic matters. From 1955 onwards the Six planned for a Community modelled on the ECSC in two additional areas; the development of nuclear energy (EURATOM), and in removing trade restrictions and creating a common market in goods, capital and persons (the EEC). These were established by the Treaty of Rome of March 1958. Along with most of the other architects of the three functional organisations, Monnet was convinced that a pragmatic approach to long-term goals was the only one that could secure a wide enough base of support.

The Rome Treaty contained two elements; the central objective was to establish a common market with no barriers to the mobility of goods, services, capital and labour. However, the counterbalance to this form of deregulation at national levels was re-regulation at Community level as competence, power and authority shifted towards supranational institutions. Both in the earliest days of the EEC and in the period during which the Single European Act was being discussed nearly thirty years later, it seems clear that even minimalist assumptions about economic integration would inevitably stimulate expectations of greater political and legal integration. As Hallstein, the first Commission President averred: "we are not in business at all; we are in politics," (Hainsworth, 3).

The ability of the ECSC to establish a High Authority with supranational powers was not easily emulated by the EEC. In its fourth decade the powers of the Commission over Member States are still debated and remain unresolved. The ECSC focused on the narrow issue of control of the strategic war-waging capabilities (coal and steel production) of two core countries that had basically agreed that they did not wish to enter into further conflict. The EEC stretched over a much wider range of issues where the comparative national advantages of six, and ultimately twelve states, were at stake. Hence the issue of Community authority over economic and social activity has been problematic from the start (7).

This has consequences, not just for the future legal status of education within the Community, but for the ways in which strategic and production, as well as cultural matters formed part of the broader conceptual framework



influencing the orientations of EC international education. By the early 1970s it became clear that free trade policies had begun to have an impact on the scope of national economic decisions, and considerations of Community-wide planning started with a number of attempts being made to establish the need for, and then define, the aims and objectives of a Community industrial policy (the Colonna Memorandum, 1970 and the Spinelli Report, 1973). The emergence of a production and technology dimension to European integration would later impact upon education policy in quite specific ways.

To begin with, the major obstacle in formulating a Community industrial and R&D policy was the weak legal basis for Commission intervention in this sector. Neave (1984, 5-7), sketches a similar scenario with respect to Community education policy, with education remaining a taboo subject due to uncertainties over the legal basis. This in turn led to a tendency to leave such matters in the less effective hands of the Council of Europe. As the high growth rates and low inflation of the 1960s, conducive to liberal economic policies gave way to the economic recession, high unemployment and manufacturing decline of the 1970s, the first major step towards a Community response was taken in Paris in 1972 when the Heads of State committed themselves to "seek to establish a single industrial base for the Community as a whole" and invited the Commission to produce an action programme (Bailey, 127).

The process of integration was continually blocked by fears that new initiatives might be *ultra vires* in terms of

the Rome Treaty. From this grew the system of regular meetings of the Heads of State and Government with the President of the Commission, which are now an established part of Community decisionmaking. The Action Committee for a United States of Europe was wound up, and Monnet ended his autobiographical account of the making of modern Europe, observing that "nothing could rival the power of decision of nine Heads of State and Government meeting regularly round the table with the President of the Commission, (Monnet, 517). For the time being the question of authority had been resolved, though not in a way envisaged in the Treaty of Rome.

### Section Three - Economic Competitiveness and Industrial Policy

In Chapter Three it was suggested that a major stimulus to the growth of international education in the US during the 1980s was the fear of diminishing US competitiveness in the international marketplace. It is now argued - albeit to a lesser degree - that similar anxieties constitute one of the sources of influence on EC international education policy. Growing awareness of declining global competitiveness pushed the EC to seek a pan-European industrial and technology policy. These concerns reappear in the mobility schemes of the 1980s.

The pressure for coordinated industrial, technology and R&D activity emerges from three sources, all of which reflect a mixture of economic and political elements. First there is the perennial issue of political authority in the Community. Second are the cyclical movements of the international economy, which prompted particular concern during the

1970s over the socio-political repercussions of recession, especially youth unemployment (8). Third was the way in which threats were perceived in terms of the diminishing competitiveness of European industry and technology relative to Japan and the US.

An early example of a European response to concerns over economic competitiveness can be found when Monnet's Action Committee for a United States of Europe developed plans for a European Technology Community in the early 1950s (Sharp, 203). From the late 1950s onwards, proposals for collaborative R&D schemes were stillborn because they always became inherently political, with Member States resisting what they perceived as encroachments on their autonomy. This prompted the observation in 1973 that "in the science, technology and industrial field, the EEC Commission has been excessively preoccupied with the pursuit of an executive power which itself really presupposes a political unity," (Williams, 139). The pressures, however, inexorably pushed the Community back to the idea of collaborative industrial policies, even if the logical thrust of economic forces was blunted by the contentious politics of nationalism and supranationalism.

The high growth rates and low inflation of the 1960s, which favoured liberal economic policies, gave way to the economic recession, high unemployment and manufacturing decline of the 1970s. The first step towards a Community response to these circumstances was taken in Paris in 1972 when the Heads of State committed themselves to "seek to establish a single industrial base for the Community as a whole," and invited the Commission to produce an action

programme, (Bailey, 127). Although little came of this initially, there are interesting parallels between this field and the developments in educational policy. Agreement on vocational training at Community level came in mid-1971, and by the end of the year Ministers of Education, perceiving that the vocational training response had essentially been a reaction to changes in the European economy, set up the first Community Programme in social action saying, economic expansion must help to [develop] an improved quality as well as an improved standard of life. In the European spirit special attention will be paid to non-material values. (Neave, 1984, 7)

The deliberate interweaving of economic and cultural concerns is worth noting, since this strikes a chord later to be echoed in the ERASMUS and COMETT schemes. This particularly European combination of realist and idealist orientations distinguishes European from American contexts. By the early 1980s it was being argued that singly the member states were too small to develop new technologies and that the pooling of ideas and the launching of joint ventures were needlessly held up by competing national interests. Apart from the proposals for improving the working of the internal market, the Colonna Memorandum also stressed the importance of innovation, especially in the information technology (IT), and biotechnology areas, and it urged a recasting of educational, technical and technological training systems as well as entering a plea for Community-level R&D projects.

As a result of the integration orientation of European definitions of security and competitiveness, the political, legal and institutional setting from which European inter-

national education emerged was very different from that which prevailed in the US. The issues of concern to the political establishments of the US and the fledgling Community were different, and these differences would be echoed in the especially in the student mobility policies that were to emerge in the late 1970s.

#### Concern over Competitiveness

Because competitiveness figured so heavily in the US international education discourse of the 1980s, it becomes part of the comparison to ascertain the extent to which such concerns also influenced EC education policy. Two related issues, that of general 'competitiveness' and that of the most appropriate European response to advances in new technology appear high on the Community agenda in the 1970s and 1980s. These concerns were to find an echo in the training and research orientations of European international education.

Although Europe had been periodically alert to the economic challenge from the US, (e.g., Servan-Schreiber, 1969), it was the combination of US and Japanese competitiveness that was to be a major factor in the unfolding of a Community policy on production, research and training:

The most important structural difficulty for Europe arises from Japanese competition... West European countries have a common interest in developments which strengthen the performance of Europe as a whole within the world economy. (Social Europe 2/86, 75)

North America remained a major factor impinging upon European capabilities, particularly in the R&D field. Although the international economic order laid down under American auspices at the end of World War II still operates,

the last decade has witnessed the partial erosion of this system due to the loss of America's previously unchallenged economic primacy. Problems affecting US-EEC relations arose in the areas of economics, defence, and foreign policy. Many difficulties arose from unrealistic expectations based on the initial US support for European union in the aftermath of the war (9).

Disagreements between the US and European states over trade and tariffs, defence, security and foreign policy are not new but were often tolerated by the Europeans during the postwar period when US military and economic support ran at high levels. Since then, transatlantic competitiveness in world markets has grown, and when the US announced in 1985 that it would spend billions of dollars to research and develop the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), the Europeans complained that this would give a massive indirect boost to America's advanced information technologies. Europe's relative technological lag and consequent dependence on the USA would be reinforced.

The Community reaction to this and other developments was to intensify the search for greater European self-sufficiency. The European Research Coordination Agency (EUREKA), project, initiated by industrialists in the EEC and EFTA, and more specifically, the Community technology programmes such as the European Strategic Programme for R&D in Information Technologies (ESPRIT), Basic Research in Industrial Technology for Europe (BRITE), and R&D in Advanced Communication in Europe (RACE) exemplify a collective commitment to R&D. In Palmer's opinion, they are "the direct offspring of European determination not to be subordinated

to US or Japanese technology," (Palmer, 66) (10).

In much the same way as the US turned toward science and technology in order to guard against setbacks in other spheres of power and influence, the EC turned to collaboration in technological research and development as reaction to the economic crises of the 1970s and early 1980s and the more keenly competitive international markets. This is a good example of a realist and trade-oriented definition of regional interest, but it goes deeper than its US counterpart because it goes beyond the acknowledgement of a free-trade, competitive and market oriented internationalism to considerations of an integrated regional response involving several different countries. Thus the politics of this regiocentric response are more intrinsically international than the equivalent perceptions in the US.

Probably the most important Community initiative to exploit regional resources was the ESPRIT programme. In 1974 the EEC established the Common Science Policy, resting on the principle of Community involvement in the R&D programmes of member states. The reappraisal of this policy took place in 1980, and led to the first five year ESPRIT programme launched in 1983. ESPRIT undertook a common programme of carefully coordinated research, half funded by private companies and half from Community sources.

The EUREKA programme was initiated by the French Government paper of 1985, Technological Renaissance in Europe, and evolved as a mainly private sector attempt (extending beyond the Community countries) to coordinate and support for pre-competitive R&D in non-military industrial

projects (Palmer, 168-9). Significantly, unlike the Community programmes, EUREKA has no declared social objective. The characteristic concern of the EC is to simultaneously address economic, social and cultural issues in policy formulation. This is a hallmark of a mixed economy approach to policy, and cannot be found in the case of the US.

America's SDI initiative, perceived as widening the already apparent high technology gap between the US and Europe, stimulated both ESPRIT and EUREKA. The second five year Community programme was launched in 1987 with a budget of £3.6 billion and embraces ESPRIT (information technologies) BRITE (collaboration in pre-competitive industrial research) and RACE (telecommunications technology research). While it is important to keep a sense of proportion about the relative size and overall impact of the Community's R&D projects, it is argued that concern for European-wide R&D collaboration were clearly a part of later EC international education policy and practice.

#### The Case of Information Technology

The specific impact of IT on higher education was explored in a European Institute of Education and Social Policy study requested by the EC. Cerych discusses the consequences of adopting the ESPRIT policy which emphasised research as an indispensable condition for innovation, industrial and technological development and economic growth, (Cerych, 1985). The immediate result of ESPRIT and similar national programmes would be the creation of a 'specialist deficit' which in the case of ESPRIT alone was estimated at 2000. Only a massive training programme involving higher education could remedy this.



Six implications for higher education in Europe follow from the IT drive: training of greater numbers of high-level specialists, the stimulation of more advanced research, adequate training for professionals who will need to use IT (business and engineering first, then law and medicine), the use of IT as a learning tool, an enhanced role for higher education in the elaboration of new techniques for adoption throughout the educational system, and research into the social effects of, and resistance to, new technology.

The main ramifications of the training imperative are the modifications to the internal structures of training programmes for professionals and others, with dual competencies having to be developed both in the core discipline and in the applied technology. Across Europe, Cerych argues, not enough is being done to train faculty in higher education institutions in the use of IT. This concern can be discerned in the COMETT programme which binds higher education, research and industry into a tighter, more focused, relationship.

### Summary

Part One has argued that the dominant influences on European international education relate to the realist agenda of regional integration. This is itself a part of the process of the regionalisation of the world economy. European sensitivity to economic and technological competitiveness is growing, and this has motivated a number of initiatives which, as will be shown below, impact upon higher education. The ways in which the Community approached the question of an integrated policy for European R&D, and the

Community discussion of IT, were established as influences on the development of Community education policies which will be looked at in Part Three.

It has been suggested in Part One that the process of European integration is both economic and political, thus provoking lengthy disputes concerning legality and stirring emotions relating to national sovereignty and autonomy. These too are reflected in matters relating to international education in the Community, where fears of federal connotations have been expressed.

The main comparative points emerging from Part One are that, for Europe, the objective of integration was adopted after the war from a position of relative weakness and with the acceptance of a range of economic, political and cultural implications. The integration project had a much more extensive impact on political and economic awareness, and thus had more widespread policy outcomes. In the US, the position of dominance led to a diminished sense of vulnerability, which in turn led to a restricted sense of international awareness with fewer policy outcomes. For two decades after the war the US grasp of the 'international' was essentially limited to the strategic dimensions of the world order that it dominated; the production, finance and knowledge sector dimensions were slow to be acknowledged.

## Part Two - The Socio-cultural Context

Part Two focuses on influences on European international education which have a less direct connection, either with the formal organisation of the EC or with its realist agenda, whether defined in economic or political terms. The purpose is to establish European structural, cultural and organisational characteristics as influences on international education. In particular, concern for inter-European reconciliation and adjustment to national and cultural differences will be shown as influencing the rationales for student mobility. The functions and orientation of US and EC student mobility as a form of international education will thus be compared.

This part of the chapter corresponds to the discussions, in Chapter Three, Part Two, of the US higher education system, the cultural dimension and the agencies delivering American international education.

The arguments of the section are threefold. First, that European international education is influenced by the nature of the higher education systems themselves. European features will be contrasted with those outlined in the US case.

Secondly, it is argued that European cultural concerns constitute an additional influence on international education. Postwar exchange visits between students in the former combatant countries and the values embodied in the activities of the Deutsch-Englisches Gesellschaft (D-EG), for example, highlight aspects of international education that reappear in Community policies. The approach to attitudinal change represented here can be seen as a European version of

the US Fulbright model of cross-cultural understanding based on personal experience.

The third argument accepts that other European organisations besides the EC have made it their business to view education as a vehicle for enhanced cooperation and harmony. The stress on a consensual matching of different educational standards and qualifications, negotiated from the top down by the respective national authorities was shared by the Council of Europe in its efforts in this field. The Council of Europe is used as an example of the different conceptual approach and problematics that arise in the context of European international education, highlighting another difference with the US. In Europe, the agencies through which international education policy could be discussed, developed and coordinated had to deal with different national polities and their educational systems.

The structure reflects the argument. Section One deals with the general shape and tenor of European higher education, for the same reason that Chapter Three incorporated a review of the characteristics of US higher education: international education, is eventually delivered through the higher education systems of the twelve member states.

Section Two examines the orientation of the Anglo-German Königswinter Conferences which typify the polycentric cultural concerns that are later reflected by the EC through such initiatives as the Adonnino Report on Peoples' Europe. Such considerations also feature prominently in the European Parliament's discussions of both ERASMUS and COMETT.

Section Three focuses on the Council of Europe, which

represents attempts to coordinate European education and infuse an intergovernmental element of internationalism at a different procedural level to the supragovernmentalism adopted by the EC. It thus provides an instructive counterpoint to the *communautaire* approach.

Both the Königswinter conferences and the Council of Europe reflect the postwar stress on establishing channels for enhancing international understanding and for discussing the issues arising from closer collaboration between European states. Both frequently touch on the roles that higher education and student mobility can play in attaining these objectives. They therefore add an idealist and transactionalist dimension to the account offered in Part One of this chapter which stressed realist concerns.

#### Section One - The Characteristics of European Higher Education

The following description of certain characteristics of European higher education is guided by a *specific* interest in those aspects that (a) contrast markedly with those of the US system outlined in Chapter Three, Part Two, (b) can be classified, and (c) have a particular bearing on international educational activities. Beyond these criteria, any examination of the enormous range of such differing systems will proceed at a high level of abstraction treating Europe not in an undifferentiated but in an aggregated manner (Clark, 1978; Tonkin & Edwards, 1987; Neave, 1986).

Compared with their US counterparts, European universities are more committed to specialised training than general education, (Clark, 1978; Sperna Weiland, 1989). European undergraduate education frequently includes profes-

sional training. Due to these characteristics, difficulties arise in controlling mass access, and these have been partly resolved by binary and short-cycle adaptations. The problems are additionally mediated by cultural and institutional practices associated with secondary school matriculation and entrance examinations which have significant implications for the intellectual and general maturity as well as the educational competence of European higher education applicants, (Neave, 1987b).

Another contrast with the US lies in the area of horizontal differentiation; whereas American higher education has a mix of sectors (approximately 56% of the 3,500 degree-awarding institutions are private), European countries are largely single sector under state control or binary/multi-type systems under state or sub-state control. Until recently, the European model tended to centre on the public university, financed by national or sub-national authorities which in turn fostered the power of state bureaucracies as well as of academic oligarchies. The American system "is more ambiguous and complex than the European one, not least because it does not serve the state, but 'society'," (11).

Market linkage is weaker in the European systems, though the tide is now flowing towards market orientation in the UK and some other countries. However, the relative weakness of the private sector in Europe is significant, and leads to a type of policy formation that links higher education to economic and social needs in a different way to that which prevails in private sector-oriented countries. Geiger suggests that public sectors are mainly sensitive to

demands mediated through formal political processes, whereas private sectors are responsive to more diverse factors because they are more finely attuned to the exigencies of the marketplace, (Geiger, 1988).

One of the by-products of this, at least in the US system, has been the development of consumer-oriented transferability mechanisms such as modular degrees and transfer credits which greatly facilitate student mobility. Rothblatt, characterising US education as being driven from the bottom by market and social forces suggests that "all American institutions, whether public or private, are in some profound sense *community* institutions in a way that European institutions are not," (added emphasis).

While Tonkin & Edwards would not agree that the US has no such thing as a national policy for higher education, they do not deny that it is a shadowy phenomenon that takes its place alongside other market forces acting upon the sector (p.123). The same cannot be said of Europe, where Neave has suggested that universities are being treated as levers of government - even supragovernment - managerialism (1987a).

Current figures indicate that no European country now or in the next ten years will approach American figures for cohort enrollments in tertiary education. Trow defines mass tertiary education at around 15% of the 18-22 year old population; French and German figures are currently around 24%, and their projections indicate a target in the 30% range, but Britain and the Netherlands are projecting around 15% for the mid-1990s. The bearing that this has on European international education is implicit in Alan Smith's discussion of student mobility in Europe (1984).

Smith suggests that certain aspects of student mobility are a consequence of demand and supply mismatch in European undergraduate education systems. An inadequate supply of student places to meet the rising demand has given rise to *numerus clausus* arrangements which displace students from their home countries to those with less restricted access or a greater supply of places. This has long characterised student flow from developing countries to the US, for example, but this kind of mobility can also be seen as a part of European international education.

Neave takes these considerations a stage further in a paper which deals with the "de-nationalisation of the vertical articulation system" between secondary and tertiary education that has, in most cases, restricted the access into higher education below the level of demand, (1989, 10-11). This 'hidden demand' echoes comments made by Becker:

the demand of the individual for education must be the starting point for educational reform. Though in all industrial societies today the fulfillment of the educational demands of the individual leads to 'over-education', it is, however, inevitable because in view of the rapid changes in our social conditions, all precalculations of supply and demand are uncertain. Overeducation is the only way of giving firstly, a free choice of profession, and secondly, of developing further the ability for further education in all kinds of fields (D-EG, 1970, 71-72).

The growth of cross-border student mobility in the European context also impacts upon sectoral articulation *within* higher education, ("horizontal articulation") as competitive forces further accelerate the tendencies towards convergence between the university sector and other higher education institutions. The Single European Act is likely to have a significant effect on the environment within which



all Community institutions of higher education operate. Its impact is enhanced by COMETT and ERASMUS - in particular the Action Three European Credit Transfer System which further facilitates mobility and equivalence.

Overall, it is argued, the likelihood of increased cross-border mobility within higher education constitutes the most generalised system characteristic differentiating European from American higher education. The scale of this movement, and the opening up of a European educational market analogous to the internal market for goods, services and labour suggest a functionalist dimension to European international education that does not exist in the US case.

Section Two - Anglo - German Dialogue and the Königswinter Conferences

Factors operating outside the strictly educational sector that strengthened the cultural understanding, cooperation and exchange dimensions of international education were identified in Chapter Three. The analysis of interest groups and promotional agencies with a similar orientation in the European context is less straightforward, partly because the interplay of interest groups at the Community level operates in a less public arena, and therefore the mobilisation of ideas takes different forms, and partly due to the postwar experience of Europe as outlined above. However, an idealist and polycentric orientation can be traced to the activities of the Deutsch-Englisches Gesellschaft.

For over forty years the Königswinter conferences, sponsored by the D-EG have incorporated many of the ideas embedded in international educational activity - dialogue,

exchange, inter-institutional cooperation, and considerations of equivalence. Cross-border exchanges of this nature reflect and symbolise the postwar interest in establishing channels for enhancing international understanding, through regular human contact and dialogue. This tradition constitutes a particular emphasis within European international education.

As early as 1945-6 elements of British Control Commission policy in postwar Germany point towards a policy of bilateral dialogue, reconstruction and reconciliation (12). The Education Branch of the Commission actively pursued a policy of exchanges and visits between German educationists in the British sector and the UK. In 1947-48 more than 2,000 Germans and 1,000 Britons participated in exchanges; "many of these links immediately blossomed and continue in full vigour today," (Murray, 87). The reason for this activity was the promotion of reconciliation and better understanding between former enemies, with an emphasis on future elites and 'influentials' whose ideas would carry most weight. Parallels with the Fulbright Programme are clear.

Another manifestation of British cultural and educational policy was the establishment of the Wilton Park Anglo-German discussion centre in Sussex (13). As the German authorities regained control of educational affairs after 1949, the British continued to emphasise the importance of maximum contact with the outside world, thus enabling large numbers of students and faculty to visit the UK. The underlying intention was that such people would later play an influential role in the development of democratic ideas,

both in the universities and in German political and social life, (Bird, 146-157).

British policy, in part created and executed by a public school educated elite tended to favour a 'top-down' approach (14). The more mass-oriented part of the policy was to encourage expanded personal contact between Germans and the rest of the world. For Koeppler, (see footnote 13), what re-education really involved was the rebuilding of the cultural links that the Nazis had destroyed. Of greatest value in the building of these links were the German visits to Britain: "in 1949 a Professor at Munster told Birley that a quarter of the students had already been abroad since the end of the war, whereas after 1918 it took 8 years for the first party of German students to visit England," (Balfour, 149). By 1951 a large number of exchange visits between Germany and the UK enabled students and faculty to meet at universities and colleges. Hearnden estimates that 10,000 young people were involved in that year, including those involved in early town-twinning projects, (Hearnden, 309).

Following these early successes, key personnel with experience of educational exchange went on to establish the Königswinter Conferences of the Anglo-German Society. The significance of Königswinter lies in the principle of "intensive zweiseitige kontakte" (intensive bilateral contacts) between conference participants drawn from leading figures in political, economic and public life (Proebst, D-EG, 1969, 1-2). The validity and influence of the institution is well captured in this 20th anniversary assessment by von Imhoff:

Upon reflection, one can state categorically that

the political fact that emerges from the unfolding twenty-year programme of the German-English Society is this: through our friends in England and their Königswinter Conferences over the years an atmosphere of trust and of solid partnership was constructed between our two peoples. You have demonstrated to British politicians that dialogue with the former enemy is of utmost importance to the future of Europe. (15)

The Königswinter elite was not initially skewed towards educationalists, nor did the successive conference agendas feature educational matters particularly prominently. However, over the years, the lists of Plenary speakers show the percentage of academics climbing steadily from 5% in 1952, 10% in 1953, 19% in 1965 to 32% in 1970, (16). More and more participants throughout the first two decades of Königswinter had ties with the Council of Europe, the ECSC and the EEC.

A decisive part of the success of Königswinter lies in its continuity [especially] the continuity of the human relations started there... What was really being done in the course of the exercise was to correct our psychological and political stereotypes. (D-EG, 1965, 5 & 91)

When participants did deal with educational matters, they tended to emphasise the ways in which European unity could be furthered by such factors as increased recognition of international qualifications (the I.B.), an international division of labour in R&D projects, mobility of personnel, with concomitant vocational training agreements. There were frequent references to common educational standards, as well as the need for common cultural education in European countries. Of greatest significance was the tendency to stress the equivalence of qualifications and standards as "the most important factors in helping us along the long hard road to genuine integration," (K.Younger, MP, D-

EG, 1970, 69).

This approach to the role that education might play in achieving the objective of European union is typical of the earlier focus of policymakers. The function of international exchange and dialogue, both present in the rationales advanced in connection with later EC mobility projects, works at both realist and idealist levels. The process takes place in the realm of attitudes, ideas and cultural dispositions, but the underlying reasons are realist and have to do with concerns to avoid the damage that conflict could inflict on European recovery and reconstruction.

Another aspect of the conventional wisdom of European international education at that time - the quest for equivalence - was shared by the D-EG and the Council of Europe. The Council's habitual emphasis on the search for equivalency is scrutinised in the next section.

### Section Three - The Council of Europe

The Council of Europe has provided a forum for the discussion, at Ministerial level, of pan-European educational cooperation and mobility over a much longer period than the EC. Moreover, it has concerned itself with practical issues concerning delivery of information to interested parties, as well as high-level policy intentions, (17).

The argument of this section is that the Council of Europe, although it could not actually achieve its objectives due to its intergovernmental form, was adopting a neo-functionalist approach to integration. Searching for agreements over equivalence of qualifications brings education systems and their personnel closer together, thereby enhancing the process of integration. Neo-functionalists see the

agreements made by strategically-placed groups of experts as contributing to integration. In that sense, the Council of Europe is a precursor to the EC, whose ability to move beyond an intergovernmental structure led to the development of more successful policies. In the US, international education really only touches upon questions of equivalence when assessing the qualifications of foreign students applying to US institutions. Thus another dimension of the difference between an integration-oriented system of international education and one that is interdependence oriented is highlighted.

It is argued here that the activities of the Council can be seen as another precursor of Community thinking on higher education policy for Europe. Indeed the Council itself seems satisfied with a role that "has judiciously influenced the development of Europe," (CoE, 1982, 9), (18).

Education was on the Council's agenda from the very first conference due to the widespread recognition of the importance of cultural and educational policies in the aftermath of the Second World War. The European Cultural Convention signed in Paris in 1954 organised cooperation in education, culture and sport, and this concern has remained central to the council throughout the years (19). In 1960, responsibility for international cooperation in education and science was transferred from the Western European Union (WEU), to the Council, and in 1961 the Council of Cultural Cooperation (CDCC) was established to coordinate, elaborate and execute the cultural programme of the Council. Another body, the Standing Conference on University Problems (CC-

PU), was created in 1978 and brought together university representatives and government officials. The CC-PU discusses a variety of topics at its annual meetings, such as academic mobility, university-industry relations and inter-university cooperation.

The interests of these bodies, cover the stimulation of greater teacher, student and researcher exchange and mobility, the encouragement of cooperation among European nations in the areas of higher education and university research, the promotion of relations among universities and institutions of higher education. The Council takes the view that "the mobility of students, teachers and research workers is a crucial factor for European unification," (CoE, 1987a, 45). To encourage this the Council from its earliest days pursued a policy objective of mutual recognition of diplomas and qualifications. It also sought to develop a network of national information centres that can provide the potentially mobile with data affecting mobility.

The Council's earliest, and most consistently pursued, strategy to enhance mobility aimed to extend the mutual recognition of equivalence - whether of partial periods of study abroad, or of entire courses resulting in the award of a diploma, (Deloz, 1986, 21-27). The Council traditionally held mutual recognition to be a prerequisite of mobility, and its emphasis on this has been constant over the years. However, the Council has always tended to interpret this issue in terms of *equivalence* (20).

In view of the multitude of changes that have taken place in European higher education over the past three decades, the goal of equivalence has been elusive, especial-

ly tackled by such a body. Possibly due to the difficulties involved in equivalence issues, the Council has tended to emphasise the need for documentation, and has succeeded in setting up useful databases (21). An outward manifestation of this is the communication of information on equivalence to those most directly affected, and the Council has recently placed great emphasis on the EUDISED (European Documentation and Information System for Education) network, though the relationship of these centres to the European Community NARICs (National Academic Recognition Information Centres) is unclear.

Since the earliest days of its meetings, the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education has stressed the role of multilateral educational cooperation in the furtherance of mobility (22). The Special Mobility Project 1974-76, bears the hallmarks of Council orientation, with its emphasis on students who had completed the first cycle of higher education. Beyond the characteristic interest in the organisation and presentation of information, there has also been a growing emphasis on the utility of inter-institutional short study-visits. These appear similar to the EC's SSV scheme.

In a general sense, the Council of Europe seems placed midway between the Königswinter Conferences, with their informal but undoubtedly influential capacity to influence prominent individuals, and the European Community with its legally constituted, if narrowly defined, authority to direct activities toward agreed-upon ends. Its agenda-setting role was clearly important historically but, as the Council



itself points out in its overview of the various activities of international organisations in the field of international educational cooperation, there are clear differentiations of function between, say, the OECD, UNESCO, the EEC and the Council itself, (CoE, 1987b), (23).

The Council claims special interest and expertise in generic 'education for international understanding' (though it clearly shares this with UNESCO), inter-university co-operation, the organisation of cooperation among European nations in the field of higher education and research, and educational documentation and research oriented towards the enhancement of mobility. The Committee of Ministers has increasingly stressed the importance of cooperation between the Council of Europe and the European Community in matters of educational and cultural policy, suggesting "coordination, and, if possible, concertation and joint activities." (CoE, 1987b, 46) (24)

In his retrospective assessment of 25 years of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, Egger asks whether the Council's aspirations and intentions for European cooperation on education have been realised, or whether there are grounds for the "widespread feeling that in this area the Council and the CDCC have lost steam, under pressure of competition from other intergovernmental organisations such as the OECD and the European Community," (CoE, 1987b, 136). He suggests that the early attempts to foster economic and political, cultural and educational unity in Europe were constrained by two factors - pragmatism and the difficulties of actually implementing the resolutions adopted. The response to these constraints was to continue to

advocate common policies and to underpin this aim through research and documentation.

The Council is somewhat circumscribed in relation to higher education policy, since Ministries of Education in some member states have no responsibility for the university sector. However, post-secondary educational cooperation has been on the agenda of three of the fifteen conferences held since 1959, and other meetings of Ministers under the auspices of OECD and UNESCO have also included university matters on their agenda.

Egger concludes that, despite some clear failures and disappointments, the Council had not laboured in vain. Its continuing utility lay in providing an opportunity to explore those issues that might arise in the narrower context of, say, the European Community, in the wider and looser framework of the Council Member States. This reinforces the Council's well-established role of documentation and the exchange and dissemination of information material, as well as the furtherance of joint action on agreed upon common issues (25).

The Council has played an important role in keeping issues of cooperation and mobility in the foreground, of emphasising the importance of information exchange and delivery to interested parties, of discussing policy developments in higher education cooperation in a broader European context, and in setting out an agenda on mobility which stresses mutual recognition and equivalence of qualifications, and postgraduate level participation. However because the Council, unlike the ECSC and the EEC was essentially an

*associational* intergovernmental organisation, it retained the principle of unanimous voting and never granted powers to central authorities. This retention of the principle of unanimous voting undermined its capacity to undertake binding and effective action on matters of equivalence.

Moreover, its 'top down' approach had little effect where it mattered most - at the level of higher education institutions. In this sector the enabling policies would come from the European Community. Monnet and Schuman, whose 1950s proposals ran counter to the thrust of the Council, were correct in their critical prediction that:

intergovernmental systems, already weakened by the compromises built into them, [are] quickly paralysed by the rule that all decisions must be unanimous. The veto [constitutes] the inbuilt flaw ... bold initiatives cannot be carried. (Monnet, 273)

However, this capacity for 'bold initiatives' supposedly inherent in the EC took some time to develop, as is clear from Part Three which traces the evolution of EC policy on international education.

### Summary

Part Two continued to set out the influences on the orientation, form and function of European international education, as well as comparing these influences with those identified in the US case.

First, the structures of European higher education are less open to the curricular manifestation of international education in terms of general education. This would suggest student mobility as a particularly appropriate form of international education. The existence of *mobilité sauvage* was noted in relation to higher education demand and supply problems in various European countries; the ability of

mobility to resolve some of the supply bottlenecks was noted.

Secondly it was established that student exchange was an important component of European cultural concerns in the postwar period. Tolerance and understanding would grow as a result of direct contact and dialogue. The focus of efforts in cross-cultural understanding had shifted from former enemies to the need to create a Community-wide sense of mutual understanding.

Thirdly, the Council of Europe was highlighted to show that in the search for more integrated systems of higher education, the approach stressing equivalence was likely to fail for two reasons:

- (a) it relied on intergovernmental rather than supragovernmental arrangements, and
- (b) it was too reliant on top-down directives that did not tap the latent interest in mobility present at grass-roots level.

As was described in Chapter Three, the market-oriented and general education characteristics of US higher education influenced the forms in which international education was disseminated and delivered. The functions of such education were also affected by such structural and cultural features as citizen awareness and community colleges. These dimensions are absent from the European context, though comparisons were offered in the cultural concern for postwar reconciliation.

Although US international education also went through a phase of multi-cultural awareness, this was in relation to

its domestic population. The US also differed in its lack of system-wide interest in equivalence; domestically the problem had been solved through the development of the credit-based course and the transcript of record, both of which resolved the problems of equivalence and mobility.

Part Three - The Community's Shaping of European Inter-  
national Education

Part Three emphasises the direct role played by the EC in both the definition and the development of European international education. Springing from different sources, motivated by different needs, and delivered by different educational systems to those of the US, by the end of the 1980s the European variant of international education was dominated by the EC's two major mobility programmes, ERASMUS and COMETT. This part examines their direct antecedents in order to demonstrate more conclusively the differences in the orientations, functions and forms of the US and EC patterns of international education.

Four broad reasons are offered to account for EC dominance of European international education policy since the mid-1980s:

- (a) the EC had become the driving force for international education by moving into territory that other agencies either had no real authority over (e.g., the Council of Europe) or no real interest in (e.g., individual states);
- (b) the laggardly pace of integration was given renewed impetus in the mid-1980s by the Single European Act which focused attention on the cultural dimensions of the process. It was easy to associate education with this rekindled interest in the broader definition of integration;
- (c) a sharper focus to EC educational policy which linked mobility based on the harnessing of individual propensities to mobility based on inter-institutional cooperation;
- (d) the steady growth of a clientele in receipt of some tangible benefit from the EC (students, researchers, acade-

mics, and administrators), who raise the profile of EC international education and form an important source of support and further publicity. They also constitute, in neo-functional terms, a new client group oriented towards certain technical aspects of integration.

The impact of these changes, felt beyond as well as inside Europe, (26), is based largely on the apparent success of ERASMUS and COMETT, the two main mobility programmes of the Community, established in 1987.

The section starts with a brief review of the earlier period of Community higher education policies, highlighting the precursors of subsequent issues and policies. The second section examines the pivotal role played by the Masclet Report of 1976 in reorienting Community perspectives on international education. The third section summarises the issues confronted by the Community in the mid-1980s which led to the launch of ERASMUS and COMETT.

Section One - The Community Education Action Programme  
of 1976

Any discussion of educational debate at the level of the EC has to begin from an understanding that, as in the case of the US, educational decisionmaking remains essentially a right of the individual Member States. It is true that the signatories to the Treaty of Rome declared their intention "to lay the foundations for an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe." Yet neither the Treaty nor any subsequent Community legislation gives the Community any supranational powers in the fields of education, (Ryba, 1992, pp.10-11).

The legal basis for all Community policy on higher education is to be found in the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, under Title III (Social Policy), Articles 118 and 128 (27). Since these clearly mention only vocational training, it is not surprising that it took several years before the Commission turned to educational

matters *per se*. A complex legal terrain exists of Community competence and areas where Member States, although autonomous, have agreed on a programme of cooperation which lies beyond the sphere of competence.

The legal basis continues to be a matter of contention, as was demonstrated by the British claim, (in response to the Commission's LINGUA proposals), that there was no basis for Community 'interference' at the primary or secondary levels (27). Not until the early 1970s was a move made in the direction of vocational training policy, for reasons connected with industrial and technological competitiveness sketched out in Part One of this chapter. Of primary concern here though is how this became transmuted into growing interest in undergraduate student mobility and in effective action to stimulate greater inter-institutional cooperation.

In 1971 a vocational training programme at Community level was agreed, and later that same year at their first ever meeting the Ministers of Education of the Six examined possible areas of cooperation. They accepted the need to move beyond a vocational training policy grounded in economic rationales towards a qualitative, value-oriented approach and "to safeguard in Europe an exceptional source of development, progress and culture." (CEC, 1988, 11). This represents a shift from skills to values within the functions aspect of international education.

The following year Professor Janne was invited to submit a feasibility study for future coordinated educational action, and this was delivered in February 1973 (29).



Although the Janne Report was not adopted as the basis for policy, it nevertheless constituted "an important intellectual impetus" (Neave, 1984, 8), establishing an educational dimension of European cooperation and venturing to suggest that the relevant articles of the Rome Treaty could be interpreted to cover a wider area than training for economic growth. This seemed to be quite acceptable to the Heads of State or Government of the newly-enlarged Community who agreed that economic expansion was not an end in itself and that "in the European spirit, special attention will be paid to non-material values," (Fogg & Jones, 1986, 13).

From early on, both cultural and human capital concerns (ideal and real) seem to be equally present. On the one hand, the distinctions between training and education blurred as the Community increasingly cultivated a 'technological culture' in order to remain economically competitive in international trade (30). On the other, there was a distinct attempt to 'play in' a Community interest in education under the rubric of cultural concerns, as evidenced by early signs of interest in cultural politics.

Over the next few years a number of topics emerged. They include the development of a European dimension in education, the teaching of foreign languages, increased cooperation between higher education establishments, and the need to 'Europeanise' study and research by enhancing individual mobility. These crystallised in the Resolution of the Ministers of Education in June 1974 establishing the ground rules for subsequent cooperation - that developments should proceed in stages, allowing room for extensive negotiation, that priority areas should be targeted (31), and

that the principle of 'harmonization' should be eschewed:

educational cooperation must make allowance for the traditions of each country and the diversity of their respective educational policies and systems. Harmonization of these systems of policies cannot, therefore, be considered an end in itself, (CEC, 1988, 15) (32)

Neither harmonization nor equivalence feature prominently in US international education at present, because it is not concerned with the functional integration of different educational systems. If the recently established North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) generates organised and structured student mobility between Mexico, Canada and the US, then these concerns may yet surface.

The agenda thus established led to the adoption of the Community Education Action Programme at the February 9th 1976 Council of Ministers of Education meeting. It included pilot projects in study visits for administrators, expanded study abroad opportunities, and the development of a European dimension in education. To adopt Neave's imagery, this early period sees education gradually moving from the periphery towards the core of the Community's concerns.

The early phase of Community higher education policy was influenced by two major factors - a reluctance to push the boundaries of the Commission's powers too far beyond the economic domain, and the absence of a legal basis in the Treaties leading to an unfocused general attempt to improve 'cooperation' between European institutions of higher education. In this way, such efforts could be construed as hewing to the principle of improving the mobility of labour and skills within the Community. Since this principle was already well established in other areas, it was not neces-

sarily controversial when applied to education.

However, the relative failure of higher education institutions to pursue opportunities for international mobility led to a number of attempts to understand and alleviate the causes of this. In 1980, .51% of all students in higher education in the Community were enrolled in courses outside their home country, against a 'realistic' Commission projection of a 5-10% mobility rate, (Neave, 1984, ch. 5). In the previous Section, the Council of Europe's emphasis on student mobility was seen to have focused primarily on post-graduate students, whose mobility syndrome would tend to be towards the 'free' or unorganised end of the spectrum, driven primarily by the imperatives of their research topics.

This was clearly too narrow a category on which to base an expansion of mobility, and in 1976 the seminal Masclet Report recommended a decisive shift of focus and resources towards undergraduate student mobility. Masclet's critique of the prevailing policy orientation is incisive and the arguments advanced in the Report invite closer attention, since they provide the underpinning for both ERASMUS and COMETT (33).

## Section Two - The Masclet Report and its Aftermath

The Report deals with undergraduate student mobility and draws conclusions "which could serve to guide the Communities in their efforts to develop such mobility as it sees as a desirable objective," (Masclet, 1976, 5). An important distinction is made early in the Report between free circulation, or individual mobility, and the organised

mobility of students. The Report argues that the strategy pursued by the Council of Europe (and mirrored by the Community) of reducing the academic obstacles to free mobility via equivalence agreements would, if successful, only marginally enhance the propensity for mobility. Having logged nearly forty bilateral agreements between the nine Member states the Report concluded that equivalence agreements "do not appear capable of arousing an extensive movement of exchange on their own," (Masclet, 43).

Another less principled impetus for individual mobility was also perceived in the Report - the unsatisfied demand of students in country A transferring to compete under less restrictive conditions in countries B, C, D, etc. The Report thus challenged the conventional wisdom of student mobility and advocated a pragmatic policy of undergraduate mobility "not for academic and pedagogic reasons, but for others, broader and less immediate," (Masclet, 15), (34).

Masclet argues that the policy emphasis should therefore concentrate on organised mobility arrangements made between institutions, since this would mean that problems of mutual recognition would be resolved at the core of any protocol. Another advantage of this approach would be that student exchange has the power to break down some of the monolithic tendencies of national university systems. Since every instance of mobility has an effect on the institution, mobility has the potential to become a powerful lever for "changing" the university and opening it to new perspectives of European cooperation. Student exchange, so often regarded as marginal, is in reality a leading issue. (Masclet, 16)

The 'politico-cultural' thrust of the Report - a mix-

ture of idealist and realist functional integration - carried forward in the argument that through the provision of a "European experience" for part of the university population a sense of belonging to a putative European social order would be engendered. Arguing that a multiplier effect will then operate, since university students will become socially influential, it concludes that "an active policy of student mobility would therefore help to lay the *intellectual and spiritual foundations* for a united Europe, which is why it has an important place in strategies for greater integration," (Masclet, 17), (added emphasis).

Masclet therefore suggests that the EC should not limit itself to encouraging mobility amongst postgraduates or undergraduate language and management students, since these options are already available. To make a significant contribution it should stimulate undergraduate mobility across the board, particularly in the disciplines where the justifications for mobility are weaker.

The Report comes out strongly in favour of policies that stimulate active partnerships between institutions and agencies, based on specific agreements that skirt the issue of official recognition of diplomas and degrees. These will lead to greater flexibility regarding when and for how long the student goes abroad and, observes Masclet, the whole movement in this direction serves to loosen up rigid academic environments.

The Masclet Report brought a new level of analysis both to mobility issues and the European dimensions of higher education. It suggests that the mobility form of European

international education was justified in terms of an integrationist-realist agenda with a clear idealist dimension. It identified the inherent limitations of earlier phases of Council of Europe and Community assumptions. Its recommendations established the basis for the high profile, well-funded mobility schemes like ERASMUS and COMETT that were to emerge a decade later. Sponsored by the European Cultural Foundation, the Masclet Report also suggests that foundation influence on the evolution of European international education policy echoed that of the Ford Foundation's influence in the US (35). Its stance was soon to be reflected in Commission policy formulation.

### Section Three - Mid 1980s Community Policies: JSPs and SSVs

By the early 1980s, the Commission had come to the conclusion that multilateral and top-down policies on equivalence were unrealistic, and that better results would come from encouraging close links between institutions and emphasising mutual recognition rather than equivalence. This recognition of demand from below led to considerations of the most effective use of Community resources.

It became clear that the greatest demand in undergraduate mobility was not for entire foreign degree programmes, but for study abroad segments or fractions of courses. This could be easily facilitated if there was a European equivalent of the American credit system, since transfer credit arrangements could then be made on an individual basis. Such an arrangement, of course was still a long way off, but a first step was taken when the Council of Ministers of Education included the Joint Study Programme (JSP) as one of the initial priorities of the 1976 Action

Programme.

In order to underpin the efforts of numerous institutions which were prompted by personal contacts and the perception of mutual benefits, the Community believed there should be an information network available to institutions contemplating cooperation. As Fogg and Jones point out, cooperation was impeded by

the barriers of ignorance about each others' education system. Historically, the connections between some Member States were often less significant than with the USA and with former colonies. (Fogg & Jones, 13)

The Eurydice network became operational in the autumn of 1980 and the dissemination of essential information to "those with policy-making responsibilities at national, regional and local levels" proceeded apace.

The JSP scheme started in 1976, and was supported a year later by the Short Study Visit (SSV) scheme. These can be regarded as facilitatory devices which enhanced both individual mobility and inter-institutional cooperation by tapping into the existing orientations and interests of higher education institutions (36). Under the JSP scheme various arrangements were experimented with and assessed, ranging from complete courses of study abroad leading to dual degrees, partial courses abroad leading to home institution qualification plus certificate, special certificates, and (as has long been the case with language courses) study abroad periods as an integral part of the home institution programme, with no special validation. Neave observes:

[there was] a high degree of continuity in the schemes and the employment prospects of undergraduates taking part were enhanced...also a high degree of academic spinoff results; (Neave, 1984, 91),

and Oppen underscores the lesson learned from this first phase of Community action in the furtherance of international mobility and cooperation in higher education:

rather than formalised recognition regulations, direct negotiation and close liaison 'from below', based on mutual trust and sound knowledge of the workings of each other's educational systems had proven to be adequate - but by no means always easy - strategies for solving problems as they had arisen...There is a strong feeling among directors [of JSP arrangements] that they have broken new ground. (Oppen, 1987, 69)

Commenting on the occupational mobility data of students with JSP experience, Oppen felt justified in concluding that the scheme had scored a twofold success - in the personal career development of individuals at one level, and in furthering the development of European integration at the other. It was even suggested that the experience of higher education exchange gained through the JSP and SSV programmes was the source of inspiration for parts of People's Europe - "to establish closer ties between citizens of the different Member States, thus consolidating the concept of a People's Europe," (Social Europe, Supplement 3/87, 1987, 19).

The JSPs and SSVs were pump-priming exercises that bonded individual institutions closer together in order to cooperate on the logistics of mutual recognition and exchange. Over the decade 1977-1987, although modestly funded and limited in scale, these two programmes created a valuable fund of experience of international, inter-institutional collaboration, and they enhanced the attraction of a European dimension, especially to those institutions in need of a revived or upgraded identity.

#### Policy in the mid-'80s: Realist and Idealist Pressures

It will now be argued that two different emphases - a



technologically oriented, geopolitical-realist one and an idealist-regiocentric one with a focus on attitudinal change - were amalgamated in order to promote the two new mobility programmes of the mid-1980s: COMETT and ERASMUS. In contrast to the United States where a starkly economic dimension of the realist argument now dominates the discourse of advocacy, the intersection of differing concerns in Europe has created rather different orientations and functions for international education.

In the background to ERASMUS and COMETT a two-pronged causal process is evident - on the one hand political, on the other economic. The economic elements are a mixture of 1970s Community concern over rising unemployment, in particular youth unemployment, in conjunction with a growing perception of the economic threat posed by the USA and Japan in the high technology sector. These concerns coincided with the transformation of the Community project from a free trade area to a customs union with all of its multi-dimensional ramifications. The cultural characteristics of this emerging identity were initially hidden behind the only discourse that the Treaties legitimised - the economic one.

However, implicitly at first, and then explicitly, the role that higher education might play in creating a Community response to the technological and economic challenge became recognised and elevated to greater prominence. The paradox is that perception of the external industrial threat helped to shift the emphasis of cross-national collaboration in higher education from a predominantly "cultural" setting and had redefined it in terms of an instrument for economic

and industrial reconstruction (37).

Throughout the 1980s growing acceptance of the social and political dimensions of the integration project allowed these to be used more openly as a rationale for ERASMUS and COMETT. This does not imply a reduced emphasis on realist economic and technological rationales, merely that a dual approach became more acceptable as the highly politicised agenda of European self-actualisation became part of the Single Market process. Although the Rome Treaty did not venture into this realm, the Fontainebleau (1984) and Milan (1985) Council meetings placed this issue on the agenda of legitimate concerns, with the result that ERASMUS and, to a lesser extent COMETT, are strongly linked to an agenda of cultural politics (38). This cannot be classified so precisely, because of the argument earlier in this Chapter that the ends and the means adopted to achieve the ends of European integration are inherently complex, incorporating political, economic, cultural and social dimensions.

Of the two main arguments one is symbolised by the Adonnino Report on a People's Europe, which is focused on the cultural and socio-psychological construction of an integrated Europe. This suggests a pan-European equivalent of the nation-building agenda of many 19th century educational systems, a sub-stratum of which (the democratic deficit) also entails changes in the role and powers of the European Parliament. The second major element is the the increasing importance of technological and industrial competitiveness, and the need to weld together European research and development and production sectors both within and between the Member States. This last aspect (intra-

regional collaboration) is at present absent from the concerns of US international education.

Developments in the Community's international education policy are more than expansions and accretions to the modest programme of cooperation in European higher education exemplified by the JSP and SSV schemes. The differences lie in three main areas:

- a) scope and scale; the new programmes envisage and facilitate mobility on a scale far more ambitious than their predecessors. ERASMUS initially envisaged a tenfold increase in mobility even though this was subsequently scaled down. Inevitably, this extends the benefits of student mobility to a new, more mass-based clientele, both in numbers and in terms of the disciplines covered;
- b) the mobility and exchange policies of the Community range from the soft margins of 'culture' to industrial and economic purposiveness. This range has broadened the scope of interested parties and has attracted new levels of public awareness (39);
- c) the orientation of these programmes is specifically 'inner-directed'. They are explicitly concerned with the internal development and integration of the Community itself, though elements of more traditional study abroad objectives are incorporated into this regional project (40).

Seeing international student mobility in terms of its domestic, or "internal" advantage, so visible in US advocacy, was not unknown in the European context. Yet what is noteworthy about the new mobility schemes of the Community is that they are harnessed, with increasing specificity, to

the role that higher education might play in the social and cultural integration of the European Community. If the Commission was not always so openly enthusiastic about European integration through higher education, given the far-reaching impact of the intended reconstruction of European society, it is hardly surprising that it has become more attentive over the years (41).

This section of Part Three has argued that the Commission made a decisive shift into tapping the inter-institutional networks that had grown out of the mutual interests of professionals and academics based in the same discipline or area of study. This move away from the top-down procedures implicit in the search for equivalence, (the approach employed for decades by the Council of Europe to little effect) signalled a departure from inter-governmental approaches based on agreements of mutual equivalence. Instead the Commission adopted an inter-institutional approach based upon "mutual recognition", which is advantageous because (42):

a) it circumvents governmental agencies protective of spheres of influence;

b) it is 'bottom-up' in the sense that individual institutions and associations decide to recognise one another's courses and programmes as valid;

c) it infringes nobody's academic autonomy or *amour propre*.

These characteristics become much more visible as the Community launched the ERASMUS and COMETT schemes in the late 1980s.

#### Part Four - COMETT and ERASMUS

The influences on ERASMUS and COMETT have been reviewed earlier in this Chapter. In this Part it is argued that the two programmes reflect different orientations toward international education within the Community. They are outlined in order to illuminate the unique features of European international education policy and practice.

Comments and evaluations made by a range of interested parties will form part of the analysis. The relationship between the two schemes will be explored, since both seek to stimulate and exploit "exchange energy", but do so in differing ways (43). Both schemes are assessed in their first phases - they have subsequently been amended in the light of difficulties encountered during initial implementation.

COMETT and ERASMUS cannot be considered in isolation from one another, and their significance cannot be assessed without reference to the broad political agenda of European integration - in particular the politics of technology and competition, the cultural politics of integration and European identity, and the role that higher education might play in relation to these concerns - which in itself constitutes a political issue.

Prior to the flurry of activity that culminated in the signing of the Single European Act in 1986, many commentators believed the Community had become associated with unnecessary bureaucracy, waste and remoteness (George, 1990; Palmer, 1988; Lodge 1986 & 1989). What appeared to recede, particularly in the popular imagination, was the socio-psychological sense of community so vital to the long-term

political goals of the founding fathers. In its stead, the prevailing sentiment was one of apathy (Hewstone, 1986). Without such an affective base, the transfer of allegiance and the loosening of the bonds of national sovereignty would not occur. In the early 1970s, as the Community wrestled with the problems of supranationalism, it was recognised by Monnet, Pompidou, Heath, Rumor and Brandt that to move successfully to the next stage of political union there would have to be a return to the "wellsprings of political power" (Monnet, 502). Little had occurred in the intervening years to develop such a process. The SEA negotiations of the mid-1980s provided a new opportunity to explore the symbolic and affective dimensions of European integration. The planning of COMETT and ERASMUS took place against this backdrop.

Functionalist integration theory is based on the premise that the integrative process works at a diffuse level and passes through many stages which are qualitatively different from the end-situation (in other words, these stages do not directly concern themselves with the lofty ideals of union). Neo-functionalist theory focuses on the activities of key interest groups and suggests that the end-situation is involved as far as possible in all the preceding steps (Taylor, 1983, Ch 1). It is argued by Marquand that:

despite some developments of a quasi-federalist character, [the Community] is not a federation; indeed by focusing on low politics, while high politics are left to the member states, it has reversed the normal pattern of a federal system. (Marquand, 19)

The relevance of this to European international education can be seen through Mitrany's (1975) functionalist theory of integration which was based on the likelihood that

citizens would develop a socio-psychological sense of community to the extent that they perceived welfare benefits flowing from the new authority. So the role of ERASMUS and COMETT, it is now argued, is to provide precisely those benefits (financial subsidies, organisational convenience, a 'network') to both students and institutional personnel. They both build a popular base and an influential pressure group for more integration.

#### COMETT

COMETT started its first three year stage on January 1 1987. The programme objective was the stimulation of university - industry cooperation within and between Member States in the fields of both initial and continuing training for advanced technologies (44). Phase I was built on four major action areas or 'strands' which promote university-enterprise training partnerships, (UETPs), encourage exchange schemes and placements, develop joint training projects in high technology, and stimulate industry-university cooperative training schemes oriented towards the needs of SMEs (small and medium sized enterprises) (45).

The *form* of COMETT, in the terms established in Chapter Two, is that of student and industry-university mobility; its *function* is training, the upgrading of European R&D capabilities and the development of a sociocultural acceptance of a European educational, research and employment 'space'. It is realist in its production and knowledge sector *orientation*, and it tends towards a neo-functionalist view of integration.

The interim report on COMETT I stresses its infrastructural role, and suggests that the UETPs are:

acting as coordinating agents for cognate initiatives at the European or Member State level, and are therefore developing into real nodes within a European network of communication and exchange between industry and university across training for technology. (CEC, 1988, 9)

Although this survey stops short of COMETT II, the consultations undertaken in preparation for phase two provide useful insights into the working of the scheme. COMETT II was to be even more closely focused on strategic areas of Community R&D, and was underpinned by a quadrupling of funds (46).

At the heart of the COMETT programme is the use of an educational and training programme to respond efficiently to the international industrial, economic and social challenge in the field of new technologies and their applications in different production sectors, where the intention is to

integrate... in both form and content... the European dimension [of technology], the [enhancement] of transnational industrial cooperation and the achievement of a European space for professional mobility. (CEC (88) Final, 3-4)

COMETT stands in relation to other Community higher education initiatives like ERASMUS in terms of its enabling function vis a vis student mobility. It differs from ERASMUS in its closer and more obvious relationship to the Community Framework Programme which outlines a Community strategy of cooperation in R & D (47). COMETT is an integral part of the efforts to create a European Technological Community that is competitive with the USA and Japan, (Social Europe, 1/86, 19; George, 1990, 164). The Community sees COMETT as a major part of its overall technology strategy, locating it alongside the ESPRIT II, BRITE, European Research in Advanced Materials (EURAM), and Development of European Learning through Technological Advance (DELTA) programmes.



COMETT's relationship to the Framework programme positions it as part of the strategic approach outlined in Title IV of the Single European Act; it is concerned with strengthening the productive potential of the community by focusing attention on the critical area of training in the advanced technologies and their applications. In the process it is enhancing the development of European training systems, the use of telecommunications in distance learning and training, stimulating cooperation and project-based partnerships between enterprises and the universities, and providing special assistance to the competitiveness of SMEs. The Commission's Report on the first year of COMETT activity prioritises the aims of the programme:

through the underlying transnational dimension... COMETT is an important element in the realisation of the Internal Market. In fact, COMETT must contribute firstly towards strengthening the competitiveness of enterprises, and secondly towards the social and economic cohesion of the Member States...through the development of partnerships and cooperation linking enterprises and universities throughout Community territory...Training for the new technologies has to be seen as a social and economic investment in the context of the realisation of the Internal Market...and, finally, it concerns the Europe of Citizens for which ERASMUS, COMETT, and Yes For Europe [are all] vital.(CEC 36, 1988, 2 & 16) (48)

The relatively modest student and staff exchange proceeding under the JSPs and SSVs began to be viewed through a different prism - that of the 'mobilisation of human resources' and the 'transfer of skills' between the academic research sector and the area of enterprise and commercial applications. The activity remained the same - the exchange of persons across frontiers, but its purpose altered and the activity became more central to the realist aim of creating a competitive Europe able to respond positively to the high

technology and international management and marketing skills of the US and Japan.

With this shift in function, the speed at which COMETT, with its utilisation of inter-institutional exchange, became operational is hardly surprising. Gestation took little more than eighteen months from inception to approval. In this sense, although some features of COMETT resemble those of the JSPs and SSVs writ large, its proper parentage lies with the R & D programmes of the Community like ESPRIT which were designed as part of the European response to Japanese and American salience in technology. COMETT's role in this was to develop a training base for the European challenge, partly through increasing the scope and the flow of university-industry cooperation through human exchange.

COMETT simultaneously contributes to the strengthening of the scientific and industrial base of European industry and its international competitiveness (Article 130 F), while forming part of the Community strategy of developing greater economic and social cohesion. Naturally, these related but distinct goals have differing reference points and advocates.

In fact, the merit of COMETT lies very much in the eye of the beholder. Each promoter or client chooses to emphasise their own interpretation of the main objective of the scheme. Judging from the relative position of agenda items in their respective comments, the European Parliament has a greater interest in 'the European dimension' in its social manifestations especially as embodied through exchanges, while the industrial interests naturally perceive the great-

est advantages in terms of enhanced market position and competitiveness (49).

The tone of the Opinion of the Liaison Committee of the CRE conveys something of the way in which COMETT manages to make all parties feel useful and central to the project:

The COMETT Programme is continuing confirmation of the importance of the university role in meeting the need for high-level training for technology in collaboration with European industry. Since COMETT sits at the interface of training and research, *the universities are an indispensable contributor to the execution of the Programme*. COMETT provides valuable support for the universities' contribution to the economic, social and technical progress [of the] European Community. (CRE-Information, 77, 1987, 29)(emphasis added)

If COMETT's links to the Framework programme on the one hand, and the higher education sector on the other can be shown, how closely is it tied to student mobility? The discussions surrounding Phase II are illuminating. The Industrial Research and Development Advisory Committee, (IRDAC), recommended a diminution of the student mobility function, suggesting that it be transferred to ERASMUS, or that it take second place to the continuing education and training elements of the programme (50). But the Commission took a firm stand on its retention and centrality to the scheme:

COMETT, together with ERASMUS serves to support the legitimate concern to reinforce the integration of training in professional life, *to increase the European identity...* Transfer of the [student placement scheme to ERASMUS] would put at risk the viability of the COMETT Programme as a whole. It is an essential component whose removal to ERASMUS would weaken the direct link with industry right at the point when the Commission is endeavouring to build up industrial participation in the Programme. (CEC (88) Final, 6-7 & 16) (emphasis added)

In the opinion of the IRDAC Executive, COMETT is a vital form of front-end catalytic activity that simultaneously

addresses two problems. Firstly, it deals with the looming skills shortages in state-of-the-art technology and secondly, it maximises European training resources for the development and the management of technological change. The programme is also aimed at resolving problems encountered across Europe in both the quality and the nature of the supply of graduates. In response to criticisms of over-specialisation and immobility, COMETT aims to improve the broadly based education of graduates so that they may be capable of mobility and adaptation in the rapidly changing labour market.

One of the hallmarks of COMETT, as with ERASMUS, is its combination of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' initiatives. The European Parliament Report on COMETT saw it as forming a Community superstructure for national programmes of cooperation between universities and industry (EPWD, 1985, 7). Business interests like IRDAC and Coopers & Lybrand have stressed the primacy of bottom-up, short-term actions, and endorsed COMETT's approach partly out of an innate suspicion of *dirigisme* and partly out of recognition of its unique combination of demand-responsiveness and publicly financed pump-priming (51).

COMETT has a closer relationship to market forces and technological and economic imperatives than does ERASMUS, but the same logic applies to both schemes in different degree. In both, the Community makes available mechanisms that provide incentives to universities, enterprises, and individuals (52). In the matter of the mobility of human resources, the common point for both ERASMUS and COMETT, the

original Proposal having first emphasised the technology- and competitive-driven arguments for COMETT, suggests that:

the increased mobility and exchange of students and staff within the Community will also be decisive in building a stronger and more cohesive European commitment to future cooperation. (CEC 431, 1985, 4)

The European Parliament, however, reverses this emphasis. After acknowledging "the manifest need to develop a technological Europe", and the customary acknowledgement of the skills deficit, the Committee on Youth, Culture, Information, Education and Sport considers that "support should primarily be given to exchange schemes that emphasise the European dimension", (EPWD, 1985, 6).

A special supplement on COMETT and ERASMUS in Le Monde reflects the internal tensions of COMETT traced above. The editorial comment highlighted IRDAC's request "for a better balance between the study abroad element and continuous training" (Le Monde, March 2, 1989, viii), while the managing director of a high-tech SME suggests that:

a foreign intern brings a new perspective to the company, and perhaps a useful contact for the future... We want to help those for whom Europe doesn't yet exist, for whom a journey of a few kilometers is still a big adventure. Thanks to the UETPs, the Europe of tomorrow will not be limited to Brussels on the one hand, and the twelve European capitals on the other. (Le Monde, March 2, 1989, viii) (53)

Thus a European Citizenship dimension is perceived as being part of a largely realist and vocational form of international education. Though this is also true of ERASMUS, the relative emphasis and priority accorded to the two dimensions is reversed, as argued in the next section.

#### ERASMUS

Adopted on June 15th 1987 after long and difficult

negotiations, ERASMUS was eventually allocated a budget of nearly 94 MECU over the first three-year phase, with increasing amounts earmarked for student mobility grants (54). The Commission stated that one of the principal aims of ERASMUS was to increase significantly the number of students who spend a period of study in another Community country as an integral part of their course, so that Europe will have available to it executives with direct experience of the economic and social life of other Member States, (CEC, 1988, 7).

Other objectives cover the strengthening of relations between the people of different Member States in order to consolidate the concept of a 'People's Europe', as well as the encouragement of more widespread and intensive cooperation between Community institutions of higher education to better exploit the intellectual potential of their staff and students.

These objectives are to be achieved through the following four action areas: the development of European University Networks (ICPs), Student Mobility grants, mutual recognition of degrees and course units (ECTS) and a range of other measures designed to encourage innovatory developments in European higher education cooperation (55). The primary emphasis in ERASMUS I was placed on the critical role played by inter-institutional cooperation. This was to be the locomotive that pulled the mobility train. Past experience with JSPs indicated that binding institutions into closer patterns of collaboration through the development of inter-personal networks created productive linkages leading to programme development. This bottom-up approach, based on

mutual interest, trust, and insider understanding of technicalities, proved to be more effective than top-down, mandated formal procedures. In this respect, the development of operational networks linking Community institutions constitutes a 'practical rather than declamatory' form of cooperation, (Absalom, 39-54).

ERASMUS, like COMETT, is best seen as a facilitatory, demand-oriented programme, encouraging higher education to make its own moves in order to fit into a European pattern that will maximise cooperation on curricula, grades and qualifications. In the absence of such institutionally-based bilateral and multilateral agreements the prospects for increased student and faculty mobility would remain limited. The response has generally been enthusiastic, with applications for ICPs rising by nearly 300% from 1987 to 1989. As with COMETT, the funds available, relative to the initial needs and their subsequent growth, were modest. It has been estimated that approximately 10% of the ICP costs were met by EC contributions, though this 10% had often played a critical role in financing initial programme development, most commonly with regard to the funding of staff travel during programme preparation. This echoes the feedback on COMETT UETPs (56).

The drawing together of institutions for the purposes of mutual exchange and facilitating transferability has given rise to fears of a hidden agenda of harmonisation. Dillemans suggests that the expenditure of Community funds on the ICPs and the development of the European University Network for the greater systemization of student exchanges

will inevitably lead to "uniformization of patterns of basic university training within the Community," (Dillemans, 1987, 56). From this perspective ERASMUS provides an incentive for European universities to voluntarily harmonize their basic study programmes (57).

Specific influences on the ERASMUS programme can now be identified and explored. The range of influences is extensive, and the assessment of relative primacy is beginning to stimulate academic debate. Absalom, for example, states categorically that the production of 'European' attitudes "is doubtless to be welcomed but is *not* the heart of the matter," (Absalom, 52).

This section argues the contrary: the drive to create a Europeanised professional elite which is politically and psychologically oriented towards a regional identity through the cross-cultural experience of study abroad, is precisely what drives ERASMUS. ERASMUS is functionalist in its approach to integration, stimulating a socio-psychological sense of community at a more general level than COMETT. The means may be targeted through Europe's academic institutions, but the end is not sectorally confined. This contention is grounded in the analysis of Commission documents and in applying elements of the debate on Social Europe and People's Europe to the ERASMUS area (58).

The mandate from the Milan Council of Heads of State, June 28-29 1985, and the European Parliament resolution of May 16 1986 made explicit what had been suggested at the Fontainebleau meeting of the Heads of State in 1984 - that the successful completion of the Internal Market could rest neither on the logic of convergence of interests driven by



market forces nor on the rhetorical invocation of European Union. The human resources that would create a more genuinely integrated Europe would have to develop new skills. The next generation of specialists, professionals and workers would not just need to develop language competency but, on the basis of the direct experience of living, working and studying in other Community countries would develop the habit of cooperation and joint ventures across national boundaries.

If COMETT was a response to economic and technical stimuli, ERASMUS was prompted by an emerging regiocentric integration political agenda in the Community, given impetus at the Milan meeting of June, 1985. ERASMUS has two major purposes - the first is to raise study abroad to mass levels. Five per cent of all higher education students in Europe are to be mobile by 1993, some 315,000 in all. The second is to act as a first step towards what may be described as a European higher education 'space' - a developing capacity for student mobility within the various national systems of the Twelve, based on closer integration between institutions, transferability of academic credits and growing recognition of equivalence.

It is revealing to compare the way in which the Commission presents the case for COMETT and ERASMUS. In the Proposal for a Council Decision adopting ERASMUS, the case opens by stating the strong consensus on the desirability of increased mobility from all quarters - Heads of State, Council, Commission and Parliament. The Council's request to the Commission to propose an enhanced exchange programme is

described as the former's reaction to the Adonnino Report. Having established the existence of foundations that go beyond the legal basis, three rhetorical devices are used in quick succession - interdependence, cooperation, and competitiveness (59). The three are interwoven to create a mutually reinforcing argument:

in the increasingly *interdependent* Community, there is as never before a need for persons who will not only be competent in another language but who will also be able to communicate and *cooperate* with partners abroad on the basis of an improved comprehension of economic and social structures of the countries of those with whom they are interacting... Furthermore, in an increasingly *competitive* world [there is] a crucial need for increased *cooperation* with partners in other Member States. Such a mentality of *cooperation* can and must be encouraged in young Europeans before they have completed their studies [to ensure] that future generations of decision-makers will regard joint ventures with other EC countries as a natural and positive line of action. (CEC (85) Final, 3) (emphases added)

The argument further proceeds: "by the same token, it is a particularly effective means of combatting emotive campaigns aimed at the promotion of narrow national interests which are to the detriment of the Community as a whole," (CEC (85) Final, 3).

A similar flavour can be noted in Le Monde's Editorial on L'Europe des Etudiants:

If one argues that the EC's interest in education stems from economic considerations (i.e., that it is necessary to supply companies with both qualified personnel and the technological capability to meet the new industrial revolution), then this approach is bound to grow. However, it will merge with the social vision of Europe and the increasing importance of constructing a European cultural identity in the face of the double threat from America and Japan. (Le Monde, Campus: La Mobilisation, March 2, 1989, II) (60a)

The fact is that the orientation of ERASMUS is more vulnerable to criticism largely because it goes beyond the strict-

ly economic, beyond the domain defined in the Treaty of Rome. In January 1989, Jacques Delors speaking to the European Parliament, pushed the economic argument to new limits which encompass the areas hitherto not seen as lying within the purview of the Treaty.

Education and training lie at the heart of the European project. In this period of profound changes, research and education are the nerve centres of economic warfare. (Le Monde, Campus-Bruxelles: de l'économie à la culture, March 2, 1989, II) (60b)

This expanded definition of the economic has varied sources, ranging from the early concerns of Community policy with the effects of youth unemployment, the growing consciousness of Europe's technological lag, changes in the agenda of European higher education, and the universities' search for a new *raison d'être* in the changed political priorities of the 1980s. This 'looser' definition of economic, moving beyond short-term and hard-edged concepts leads to an opening out from training towards education in general, as part of the social dimension of Europe 1992. As Delors puts it:

a skeletal [new] society is in the making, and the efforts of various institutions are helping to put flesh on it. (*ibid.*) (60c)

This is seen as timely and desirable in certain parts of the Community, though others might see it as an impediment to unfettered competition and the discipline of the market:

this tendency to go beyond the "strictly economic" towards a softer community is currently fashionable, particularly in France and Germany. Such sentiments are necessary as education (as opposed to training, a subtle distinction) is not covered by the Treaty of Rome, and many Member States are unhappy to stray from the well-trodden paths of the Treaty. (*ibid.*) (60d)

When ERASMUS was finally adopted, the Council saw fit to

reiterate its purpose, which was:

to secure the competitiveness of the Community in the world market; to strengthen the interaction between citizens in different Member States with a view to consolidating the concept of a People's Europe. (CEC 87 327, 1987, Article 2 [p. 3])

It is thus argued that ERASMUS reflects a different set of emphases than does COMETT, with a far more explicit acknowledgement of the mandate interpreted via the Milan Council of June 1985 when the People's Europe proposals were adopted. ERASMUS emerges as a framework programme, deliberately open to wide interpretations and applications from all sources, whereas COMETT is a more specific programme narrowing the relevant base. Growing directly from ten years of experience accumulated under the 1976 Action Programme for Cooperation in Higher Education, ERASMUS places economic justifications in soft focus and deals largely with a such value-added notions of study abroad as enhanced job opportunities and increased skills and knowledge.

## Conclusion

The arguments of the chapter will first be summarised before the findings of Chapters Three and Four are compared. This allows a structural understanding of differences between the two patterns of international education to be established before proceeding to the institutional approach adopted in Chapter Five.

## Summary

This chapter has argued that above all else, European international education derives its *raison d'être* from post-war European integration. The unique influence has been the regional integrative project, classified as having both realist and idealist dimensions. It was also established that the most consistent delivery vehicle for this educational activity has been the European Community which has conceived, promoted and delivered a uniquely European version of international education drawing upon a range of historical, structural and cultural roots.

Part One explored the postwar regional context arguing that the process of economic integration was always inherently political - with eventual consequences for EC international educational policy. Attention focused on the macro-economic and industrial dimensions of EC policy that would influence the orientation of subsequent mobility schemes. Growing European concerns over technological competitiveness were traced as influences on emergent educational policy. Unlike US awareness of competitiveness, European perceptions incorporated a regional integration and cooperative dimension that would later influence COMETT.

In Part Two it was argued that another series of influ-

ences on generic European international education lay in the nature of the region's institutions of higher education which differed in structure and orientation from those in the US. The role of individual intra-European mobility as a response to the insufficient supply of higher education places was also noted. Part Two also explored two types of European transnational activity in the politico-cultural area. The Königswinter Conferences and the Council of Europe, it was argued, exemplified regional desires for exchange, integration and equivalence in higher education which were eventually to find concrete expression in the policies of the EC. European cultural considerations such as international reconciliation and adjustment to national and cultural differences within the region (both in attitudinal and institutional terms) were portrayed as influences on European international education.

Part Three focused on the role of the EC in the development of European international education, emphasising the pivotal role played by the Masclet Report which led to the early JSP and SSV schemes. The significance of the Report lay not only in its argument in favour of student mobility rather than equivalence agreements, but also because it stressed the cultural and attitudinal dimensions of study abroad. In Part Four, the first phases of ERASMUS and COMETT were analysed, highlighting both similarities and differences of emphasis between the two schemes with reference to the socio-political, economic and industrial competitiveness concerns of the Community. ERASMUS, with its greater stress on cross-cultural understanding represents a functionalist

approach to integration. COMETT, with its highly specific joint R&D projects, inclines more towards the neo-functionalist mode of integration.

Through the examination of European developments in international education it has been established that the role played by the EC works at both realist and idealist levels. EC international education programmes reflect this dualism, as well as displaying an integration orientation itself divided into functionalist and neo-functionalist categories. EC mobility schemes assist the process of spill-over referred to in Chapter Two. What appear to be functional and technical activities directed to the enhancement of inter-institutional arrangements for mobility carry overtones in terms of political integration. A socio-psychological sense of community also extends to more and more students as a result of increasing numbers of study abroad arrangements.

Chapters Three and Four presented a detailed account of the circumstances within which international education developed in both areas from 1945 to the late 1980s. Differences and similarities can now be classified according to the three basic criteria: orientation, function and form. A fourth element, that of enabling bodies will be added, since previous Chapters have focused attention on the role played by policymaking, allocative political authorities in the development of international education.

### Comparison

Chapters Three and Four took a macro-oriented, structural approach to the development of international education from the 1940s to the end of the 1980s. What

comparisons can now be made using this level of analysis?

### Orientation and Function

In terms of the discussion established in Chapter Two, Part One, the orientation and function of international education in the two regions is linked to the ways in which the 'international' is perceived. US and EC perceptions of international vary, and within the two areas, perceptions also vary over time. Both the US and Europe perceive the international order and their place in it in primarily realist terms, and both have encouraged the growth of international education. However, although a realist outlook is shared, it is seen from different perspectives.

The US emerged from the Second World War rich and powerful, with its international outlook characterised by a concern to protect US dominance in strategic terms. At the same time, Europe was weak and impoverished, and the European perspective on the international order inclined towards a more regiocentric focus with a strong emphasis on cooperation and integration for reasons of economic and political advantage. This profoundly affects the priorities and perceptions of European international education.

The next three decades saw further divergence in European and American perceptions of 'international'. In response to a waning of US power in the production and finance sectors, the international order began to be viewed as having an economic dimension, and a view of the US as part of an interdependent international trading order developed. The challenge to US interests began to be perceived in terms of economic competition. In the knowledge sector the res-



ponse to this was to offer international education oriented towards increased awareness of other cultures (markets). This free-trade internationalism took a study abroad form, though the structure of US higher education also facilitated a stronger curricular form than was possible in Europe. The functions of this international education are focused on the knowledge and skills necessary to retain a competitive advantage in the international economy.

Different factors are present in the realist geopolitical agenda of the EC. Competition with Japan and the US led to a growing appreciation of the need to establish a Community-wide dimension to technology R&D, as well as the potential offered by enterprise-university collaboration within and between member states. Thus a concern for internal cohesion, at least at a functional, technical level, was present in the realist agenda of European integration.

The EC's concerns for economic competitiveness differ from those of the US in that they automatically entail consideration of regional, cross-border integration. Integration is the prism through which regional understanding of international forces is viewed. The US, on the other hand, has developed an understanding of the international order mainly in terms of interdependence, and such perceptions entail fewer obligations. The European focus on integration is more complex than the US one on interdependence, since integration is a process with integral political, economic, cultural and social ramifications. Thus, affective dimensions are inserted into an originally realist discourse. As a form of globalisation, integration is more exacting than interdependence, hence the greater significance of activity

in the knowledge sector, such as international education.

The consequences of interdependence and integration versions of internationalism influence the orientation and function of international education activity in the two areas concerned. EC international education policy and practice embody both functionalist and neo-functionalist processes. In the case of the US, there is no *policy-driven* reason for the presence of such rationales. Interdependence does not entail the same degree of structural and cognitive cohesion as integration. There is no need to use international education to create and sustain a global educational 'space'. As befits a more free-market oriented system, the role of US international education owes more to the transactional category of internationalisation.

On the basis of the above it is argued that EC international education schemes inherently address political integration issues, and that this represents a characteristic of European international education which is not shared by US international education. The present 'Europeanisation' of international education is a far cry from earlier geocentric visions of post-war European international education: "[Marc Bloch] dreamed of the political and economic changes and the revolution in French education that would follow from the introduction of global studies," (Fink, 1991, 303). US international education is far more global in its outlook, though the extent of global coverage is primarily dictated by its strategic or commercial significance to the US.

Any more globally defined agenda for European international education has effectively been marginalised in the

last few years by the widening and deepening agenda of regional integration prompted by the Single European Act (SEA), or '1992'. The SEA pushed economic cooperation 'backwards' (i.e., beyond the coordination of industrial policies which focus on production and distribution) into R&D and inter-sectoral cooperation. The SEA also provided a legitimate forum, based on mobility of labour and professional equivalence, for the cultural and social implications of integration to be addressed in an educational setting (62).

Although US international education is also justified in terms of a competitive international economic order, this does not necessarily carry connotations of greater harmonisation between US and overseas systems of higher education. Nor do the functions of 'competitive-awareness' international education necessarily incorporate social and cultural dimensions on an equal footing with the tools required for the efficient management of the global economy. In the case of European international education, the economic, the political, the social and the cultural have all been clearly present from the earliest stages. The integrative project was acknowledged to have multiple dimensions, giving subsequent definitions of international a particular range of meanings.

#### Form

Many of the differences outlined above student mobility as a shared form of EC and US international education. Parallels do exist between the student mobility forms of the two regions, namely the use of study abroad to inculcate more flexible intellectual and vocational options. Yet other differences of orientation and function clearly exist. In

Europe, mass levels of student mobility within the Community are intended to have a transformative effect on the nature of European identity and the character of European citizenship. Caution is needed in matters of political identity and acculturation, but when a significant segment of Europe's students treat a period of study in another Member State as a normal part of their studies, the question of European integration will have shifted from the utopian to the practical, everyday orbit. The resultant decoupling of a students' national origin from his or her domestic higher education system and institutions could have consequences as far-reaching as the reverse process that 200 years ago led to the binding of those same institutions to the nation-state. It should, however, be acknowledged that the EC programmes represent aspirations rather than empirical attainments.

One side effect of such a development will be the growth of international competition for students, across hitherto discrete systems of higher education. The pilot stage of the ECTS, with its emphasis on management and technical subjects will no doubt lead to an increase in the amount of student transfers between Member State higher education establishments in such areas, favouring a functional-technical definition of Community identity. This will open up a European higher educational 'space' similar to that which exists in the US, where continent-wide student mobility is seen as normal. This 'loosening-up' of European frontiers is an important aspect of EC international education policy.

The ECTS scheme, along with other incentives to mobil-

ity, will counter to some extent the advantage that US international education enjoys through being able to incorporate curricular forms of international education via the general, or liberal education frameworks of US higher education institutions. European institutions may well redevelop an international form of the *studium generale*, but at this point the most convenient mechanism available is that of integrated joint degree schemes and student mobility and exchange.

Through both ERASMUS and COMETT and some of the spin-off programmes they have engendered (63), the Commission has deployed the mobility mechanism to alter mentalities and establish a human basis for the increased regional collaboration deemed essential to the success of the Single Market.

It has also deployed mobility to enhance the capacity to respond successfully to Japanese and American challenges in R&D and production and, more contentiously, in the creation of an integrated Europe. This deliberate use of mobility to increase the flow of ideas, to enhance technology transfer and to maximise the development of skills and attitudes appropriate to the consolidation of a new economic, social and political entity is unique. The trans-actional flows occasioned by student mobility have been mooted as an indicator of and as an agent of change, but never before have they been utilised, planned and resourced on such a scale by a 'supranational' agency like the EC.

In addition, in the European context, student mobility is more likely to be integrated into courses, as a result of the ICP and UETP strands of ERASMUS and COMETT. Thus mobility works to develop infrastructural integration

through institutional cooperation. US student mobility is likely to be an optional and far less integrated element in undergraduate degree programmes, and thus leads to a lesser degree of inter-institutional cooperation.

### Enabling Bodies

Finally, the question of agency needs to be acknowledged in this comparative exercise. Chapter Four has demonstrated that European international education, as seen through the development of EC policies, is pursued as part of the Community's policy of ever closer union. The existence of such a commitment, pursued by such an influential body as the Commission, puts international education on the regional political agenda in a structured and well-resourced way. Due to its closer relationship to the policy objective of the era - integration - European international education has a higher profile within the agencies that plan and allocate resources to that end.

This is not to imply an unremitting politicisation of European international education, nor to suggest that political objectives are always the dominant ones. It does argue that international education in Europe possesses a leverage based on a congruity between the aggregate demands of individual students, the overarching integrative project, and the possession of policymaking and allocative capacity by the authority charged with furthering the process of integration.

European international education in the late 1980s and early 1990s possesses greater consistency and taps into more stable resources than its US counterpart. Any negative side

effects from being closely allied with (supra)state agencies are neutralised by the EC's commitment to demand-led activity in the sector, thus combining a degree of market sensitivity with aspects of planning and control (64).

By contrast, in the US, apart from Federal interest in certain initiatives, most recently in the area of international business, the agencies of support are dispersed and relatively uncoordinated. States, Foundations and individual institutions all initiate, develop and support international education for their own separate reasons, as befits a free market entity getting to grips with a diffuse sense of changing national and educational needs.

An overarching difference between US and EC international educators is that Europeans identify and associate with a regional integration project which has a high profile and considerable resources, whereas their US colleagues need to lobby over a wider and less focused political and economic message (interdependence) and agencies (65).

The evidence assembled in this chapter suggests four categories of influence on European international education that lead it to differ from its US counterpart:

(a) National diversity - finding ways to bring diverse national traditions into some form of closer, more symbiotic relationship as well as seeking to enhance cross-system cooperation.

(b) Tensions between the economic and political objectives of integration. The unavoidable politicising of the process of economic integration opens the door to the socio-psychological (idealist) dimensions of political identification with, and commitment to, European integration. Under such

conditions education plays a role in "supra-nation-building".

(c) The regiocentric rather than nationalist, polycentric or geocentric orientation. The consequence of this has been a largely inward-looking international education with Europe as subject-in-itself rather than Europe-in-the-World or the World-in-Europe. It is true that both comparative and competitive perceptions play a part in consolidating Europe's sense of a separate identity, but Europe's project is more regional than global.

(d) The architectonic quality of the integrative project allows its educational dimensions to be more clearly conceptualised, better coordinated and more centrally and reliably resourced than US international education. Thus the strengths and weaknesses of a market-based, demand-led system in a federal context can be contrasted with those of the different political idiom of Europe, where centralised political authority plays a greater role, and where international education has been openly deployed in the service of the 'high politics' of the integration project (see Footnote 5) (66).

Thus each pattern of international education demonstrates characteristics not shared by the other. A degree of similarity exists insofar as both have adopted student mobility as one of the most convenient forms of international education, and in both cases institutions are involved in transnational activities, (61).

Having established the main differences between US and European international education, and accounting for them in



primarily structural terms, we must now turn to the other essay in explanation, first juxtaposed in Chapter One. Ideally the two perspectives adopted in this research (macro-micro) should be mutually reinforcing, yet there is surprisingly little systematic attention given to specifying the exact linkages. This will be the task of the concluding chapter, so the objective of the next chapter is to explore the phenomenon from the perspective of individual actors occupying strategic international education positions in specific institutions.

## Chapter Four: Footnotes

(1) By this is meant that in Europe the phenomenon has only recently become more visible as an activity inviting attention from researchers and developing a group of professionals associated with it. American international educators paid scant attention to European developments until the late 1980s, judged from conference agenda and the frequency of reports in journals and bulletins. This reflects two things - the dominance of the US model of international education as well as its insularity and self-referential nature. One of the first comments on EC developments in international education ever made to me by an American professional in the field was that "if the EC goes on like this, European universities will no longer be interested in providing places for US study abroad programmes." (G. Thomson, Executive Director, External Relations, CIEE, September 1987)

(2) Britain seemed to take a different view, perhaps unable or unwilling to perceive the effect of the war in accelerating her decline as a world power. Apart from the British, it was accepted that some form of integration involving the surrender of at least a degree of national sovereignty to supranational organisations was necessary. Britain's different analysis and strategic vision are mentioned in order to illustrate that 'European' covers a number of competing, sometimes conflicting tendencies, and cannot be thought of as a seamless web. It is clear in retrospect that far more than any other W. European state, even France, Britain was determined to maintain herself as a world power, and that sustaining this global role made her adjustment to changed circumstances longer, more costly and less graceful than that of her neighbours. While British hopes were pinned on a strong 'special relationship' with the USA, she chose to have nothing to do with what appeared to be inward-looking European federalism. This was aptly characterised nearly forty years ago by a Königswinter participant as "Britische Ohne-Michlichskeit," [British "count us out" mentality], (DEG, 1952, 18).

(3) In this respect European and British thinking again parted company, with the British preferring cooperation between sovereign states within the context of international institutions (intergovernmentalism) like the OEEC (Organisation for European Economic Cooperation) and NATO.

(4) 'Supranationalism' is defined by Beloff as "a recognised interest within a political grouping of several nations which is different from, or distinguishable from, the interests of any one of them and which thus claims institutional expression." (Cosgrove & Twitchett, 95).

(5) The development of the Community generally, and the emergence of Community policies in specific areas, like education, has stimulated extensive theoretical activity in the field of political analysis, particularly with respect to two areas. The first is concerned with functionalist and neo-functionalist theories of integration, already mentioned in Chapter Two. The second concerns the question of inputs

into policy-making in a non-national context.

The policy of incrementalism in the Community has invited a lot of attention from theorists. Neo-functionalist theories of regional integration which were in vogue in the first decade of the EEC's existence were beginning to look distinctly shaky as de Gaulle's emphasis on a *Europe des Patries* gained ground. The theory was based on the assumption that integration would proceed exponentially as successful common policies in technical, non-controversial areas led to functional spillover into other sectors. Common policies would then lead to the transfer of political authority to pan-European institutions, largely due to political pressures from interest groups and political elites whose interests would be served by European institution-building. By the early 1970s, these theories had been largely discarded in the face of the difficulties encountered in the institutional development of supranationalism. However, following the Community's new lease of life resulting from ratification of the Single European Act, EC analysts appear to think neo-functionalist theories are worth resurrecting (Taylor, 1989, 23-4, and George, 210).

Part of the problem with the second theoretical issue (how to analyse inputs into EC policy-making) has been to ascertain the extent to which models constructed to explain the influence of interest groups on decision-making in a national context are transferable to a pan-European level. Are the interest groups and influential factors configured in the same way? Much research suggests not. Explanatory models based on the nation-state are inadequate to explain EC policy-making for the simple reason that the EC is not a state. Power relations between the European Commission, interest groups and national governments vary considerably between different policy areas and different levels of policy-making. Kirchner suggests that economic interests are likely to be articulated and catered to long before other - especially liberal - professional groups, and although this is a relatively new field a level of 'meso-level' study has emerged. (Kirchner, Duchêne & Shepherd, Cawson *et al*).

Rhodes has developed a meso-level concept based on *policy networks*, defined as "a cluster or complex of organisations connected to each other by resource dependencies and distinguished from other clusters or complexes by breaks in the structure of resource dependencies." (Benson, 1982, 148) Wilks and Wright (1989, 274-313) choose to emphasise personal relationships between actors rather than structural dependencies, but in either case the relevance to Community education policy is clear. ERASMUS and COMETT create resource-dependent networks vis à vis the Community, but they also bring institutional actors (liaison officers) into a regular relationship with one another, bonding institutions through a common interest. However, as Peterson suggests in his analysis of technology policy in Europe, different levels of influence and policy-making exist, from the meso-level, pan-European network, through the intermediate level of the ERASMUS and COMETT bureaux, to the 'initiative' level of the institutions putting forward individual programmes.

(6) Monnet's experience of the solidarity fostered between and amongst the beneficiaries of Marshall Aid strongly influenced his understanding of the need for an organisational structure that would deal directly with the issue of national sovereignty. Hence the Schuman plan for the establishment of a European Coal and Steel Community would encompass both French and German production and place it under an independent High Authority. Monnet commented:

I realised that neither this organisation [OEEC] or [The Hague Congress which was to lead to the creation of the Council of Europe] would ever give concrete expression to European unity. Amid these vast groupings of countries, the common interest was too indistinct, and common disciplines too lax. A start would have to be made by doing something more practical and more ambitious. *National sovereignty would have to be tackled more boldly and on a narrower front... the establishment of common bases for economic development must be the first stage.* (Monnet, 247; emphasis added)

(7) "We are sorry that the Treaty establishing the ECSC had dirigistic as well as liberal elements....[for some time now] we have had an interventionist, dirigist system in Europe." (Dr von Dran, Executive Director of the German Iron and Steel Federation, quoted in Palmer, (1988), 142-3.

(8) Economic pressures (a combination of cheaper overseas competition and declining domestic efficiency during a time of rising unemployment) were eventually to lead to three particular industrial sectors receiving attention in policy terms - steel, textiles and shipbuilding. In 1980 the Commission Report on the Mandate reviewed the whole range of Community policies and led to a further document which urged a rejuvenation of Community industry and proposed a major shift of resources from agriculture to industry, setting out plans for a better use of Community resources as a basis for innovation, research and development. (CEC 81, 639)

(9) The economic problems have arisen from changes in relative positions; for a number of years after the war western European countries and Japan remained largely dependent on the US for re-equipment and assistance with defence, and were consequently quite prepared in consequence to accept the American lead in matters of trade and currency. The international arrangements of Bretton Woods enshrined the conviction that the US was dominant both in size and competitiveness in the world economy, and the practices, institutions and rules introduced then were structured to reflect this fact. But by the early 1970s the US began to run into balance of payment difficulties, floated the dollar, and lost its international competitive dominance. Although still a very strong economy, the rise of European and particularly Japanese competition, has changed America from being the world economic power to being involved as one of the world's trading and financial giants. The significance of this process of regionalisation is considerable. Initial-

ly the creation of the European Community was welcomed by the US as a means of strengthening Europe, and therefore the West, but enthusiasm waned as European economic strength, together with the rise of the Asian NICs, began to impact negatively on the US balance of trade.

(10) Peterson suggests that European perceptions of a 'technology gap' reached a peak in the 1960s and again in the mid-1980s. The EC's balance of payments in IT were in surplus in 1975, but had begun to sink into deficit in 1982; on top of this, the "messianical American effort to attract European partners to the SDI lent sudden urgency to discussions about pan-European R&D." (Peterson, 276) // (11) Dr Sheldon Rothblatt, Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley, speaking at the Institute of United States Studies' The American Presence in Britain Conference, Regent's College, London, November 10th, 1989, in the Seminar on *The Transfer of Higher Education Institutions across National Boundaries*. // FN. 11

(12) Allied policy options on the most appropriate treatment of defeated Germany ranged from the Russian plan for total economic disablement and the removal of the ruling class, the American suggestion that Germany be reduced to a pastoral economy, and the British proposal for the political re-education of the Germans; it was the British proposal that was adopted as official Allied policy, incorporated into the Potsdam agreement, and extended to Japan.

(13) According to Kettenacker, Wilton Park was set up in 1945 as a kind of POW staff college or university, headed by Dr. Heinz Koepler a naturalized German academic. (Pronay & Wilson, 75)

(14) A particularly important role was played by Sir Robert Birley, the first Educational Advisor to the Military Governor of the British Sector from 1947-49. Birley, who had already held the post of Headmaster of Charterhouse, and was later to become Headmaster of Eton, was well-grounded in German culture and history, and was clear about the nature of the task that befell the British in Germany. He believed in the necessity of elite-formation drawing on a two-fold strategy:

personalities of intellectual eminence with a bent for politics can come to the top...[and] ..the British in Germany (who deal with education) must help call forth a body of men dedicated to the task of rousing...through education..the love of freedom, the readiness to accept personal responsibility for the actions of the community. (Husemann, 162)

After his role within the Military Government, Birley was involved, along with Frau Milchsack, with the establishment of the Königswinter Conferences of the Anglo-German Society.

(15) Thesis writer's translation of original text:

Nach einem derart abgewickelten Zwanzigjahresprogramm, das die politischen Ereignisse dieser Zeitspanne begleitete, kann man mit Überzeugung feststellen: Der Deutsch-Englischen Gesellschaft ist es

mit ihren Freunden in England und ihren Konferenzen in Königswinter in all den Jahren gelungen, eine Atmosphäre des Vertrauens und der soliden Partnerschaft zwischen die beiden Völkern aufzubauen... Sie haben die Englischen Politiker davon überzeugt, daß eine Aussprache mit den Gegnern von gestern für die Zukunft Europas unbedingt nötig sei. (von Imhoff, D-EG, 1969, 50)

(16) Thesis writer's analysis of Reihenfolge der Redner of Conference Reports, 1952, 1953, 1965, 1969, 1970. Although education came up in 1969, it did so very much as a reflection of the events of 1968, with much discussion revolving round the question of Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary (educational) politics, participation, etc. However Youth Exchanges were on the agenda, and in the following year (Cambridge, 1970) Study Group V dealt with the topic of The Role of Education in Modern Industrial Society. In a manner precursive of Mr Baker's response to LINGUA nearly twenty years later, Mr Timothy Raison (erstwhile editor of New Society and later to be a Conservative Minister) said:

The other topic I see from our agenda paper we should have discussed is to do with the implications of educational reform for European unity. Well, happily... I am not quite sure what European unity is, and equally I can see no possible implications of educational reform for European unity. I can see that the sort of exchanges that we referred to earlier are necessary; I can see that it may or may not be desirable to move towards European unity and towards educational reform, but I would have thought that these were separate compartments. (D-E G, 1970, 69)

(17) The Hague Conference of 1948, chaired by Churchill and attended by public figures like Mitterand, Macmillan, Eden, Adenauer and Hallstein, traded in "many vain aspirations," (Monnet, p.273). It nevertheless led a year later to the founding of the Council of Europe whose object was "to be a European Assembly in which would be represented the live forces in all our nations," (Bailey, p.276). An early resolution that the Council become a European political authority with limited functions but real powers was sent to the Committee of Ministers and disappeared without trace. As ECSC discussions went on in Paris, de Reynaud proposed the idea of a Public Authority for European Steel to the Council's Consultative Committee, but to get the text to the vote, the word 'authority' had to be deleted.

(18) The Council has both ministerial and parliamentary elements which work, not for eventual union but for closer unity between all of the states of Europe through fostering an understanding of the "European dimension" of policies. The Parliamentary Assembly and committees of experts make recommendations to the Committee of Ministers who may then decide to make recommendations to the governments of the 24 Member states.

(19) In 1986 the Committee of Ministers adopted a resolu-

tion on European cultural cooperation which affirmed that "cultural cooperation is one of the fundamental areas of the Council of Europe's action and must, thus, be given appropriate priority among the Council's activities." (CoE, 1987, 45)

(20) This emphasis led to three conventions on equivalence - the European Convention on the Equivalence of Diplomas Leading to Admission to Universities (1953 and 1964), the European Convention on the Equivalence of Periods of University Study (1956), and the European Convention on the Academic Recognition of University Qualifications (1959)

(21) The development of the Council's documentation network was the main focus of activity during the period 1978 - 1983, culminating in the first meeting of the Heads of the National Information Centres on University Mobility and the Equivalence of Diplomas at The Hague in 1983, followed by further meetings in 1984 and 1985. The Capelle Report also spawned a series of Conferences on University Mobility in Rome (1981), Stockholm (1982) and Rome again (1984). A glance at the agenda of these meetings shows the Council's awareness of the need to go beyond constant refinement of the dissemination of information to according priority to inter-institutional short-study periods.

(22) In resolution after resolution the theme echoes down the years. In 1970 a detailed study was requested by the Council in its attempt to identify the main obstacles to mobility; the Lesguillon Report, published in 1973 and oriented primarily towards inter-university cooperation and postgraduate mobility made a number of suggestions which formed the basis of the Special Mobility Project of 1974-76, which in turn led to the Capelle Report to the CDCC in 1977.

(23) Its role is still important since it still seems to offer a wider scope for the discussion of international education than does the EC - e.g. links with non-European higher education, projects that span a wider definition of Europe than is characteristic of the Community. Though with the launching of the TEMPUS scheme by the EC, and with new developments in private international higher education like the Sores Foundation's Central European University project in Prague-Budapest, this Council advantage may be diminishing in importance.

(24) Resolution No.2 on the Mobility of Students and Teachers in Higher Education at the Seventh Session of the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education in Brussels in 1971 provides a good example of Council the scope and nature of Council thinking:

BELIEVING - that the principle of mobility belongs to the essence of higher education;

- that mobility should be encouraged and facilitated especially for more advanced students and that in particular postgraduate students need to be given the opportunity....

- that direct contacts among universities, colleges...in all matters of exchange and mobility

are of the greatest value and need to be systematically encouraged;

RECOMMEND - that all member States of the CDCC should endeavour to provide a national centre to collect and provide information on [foreign tertiary systems, qualifications, equivalences, etc.]

- that member States should allow the use of foreign academic titles...provided that it is understood that this possibility would not prejudice *effectus civilis* and would therefore not confer any right to exercise a profession;

INVITE the Council of Europe in cooperation with the appropriate international organisations to .....make available sufficient and reliable information.....investigate the possibility of establishing a system of equivalences...etc. (CoE, 1987, 70-72)

(25) By the mid-1970s, exchanges of information and statements of intent took the place of real debate. Resolutions and declarations went no further than statements of intent... The fear of failure to achieve anything positive caused the discussions to shift to new organisations like the European Communities.....Greater Europe dropped out of the limelight. (CoE, 1976b, 142)

(26) It would seem that the ERASMUS scheme has caught the attention of overseas educators interested in promoting student mobility since it is often cited in relation to COLUMBUS (the proposed Canadian-US-Mexican student mobility scheme) and NORDPLUS (the Scandinavian scheme). (EAIE Annual Conferences 1990 and 1991; NAFSA Annual Convention, 1990 and 1992).

(27) Article 118: "the Commission shall have the task of promoting close cooperation between Member States in the social field, particularly in matters relating to ....basic and advanced vocational training..; Article 128: The Council shall, acting on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, lay down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy capable of contributing to the harmonious development both of the national economies and of the common market." (CEC, 1979, 211 & 215)

(28) More recently, John MacGregor, Minister of Education said:

Education is not covered by the Treaty, and the Community has no direct jurisdiction over education. Worker mobility, initial and continuing vocational education, provision for mutual recognition of diplomas and qualifications, plus that area of relatively easy negotiations - ERASMUS and COMETT, yes, but beyond that the EC does not reach into the heartland of domestic education policy. (speaking at Chatham House - Royal Institute of International Affairs - on October 30, 1990)



Only relatively recently has the European Court of Justice declared that the Treaty can be directly applied to higher education in connection with the elimination of barriers to mobility. In the Gravier case the Court ruled that differential fees charged to nationals of other Member States contravened Article 7 ("any discrimination on the grounds of nationality shall be prohibited").

The fact that education did not merit a direct mention in the Treaty of Rome necessarily meant that placing it on the agenda was the result of lengthy and indirect discussions and negotiations. The consent of *all* the Member states had to be obtained, since the opposition of just one could have vetoed any proposals. Moreover, when it came to questions of equivalence it has to be remembered that in certain Member States, the government does not itself possess the formal power to define, award or validate the degrees issued by institutions of higher education. (e.g. U.K., Eire, FRG)

Once the European Court ruled that higher education could be considered under the rubric of vocational training, which was specifically cited in the Rome Treaty, higher education was placed on the EC agenda. Brussels now, sees higher education and training as central to the developing European consciousness associated with 1992 and the completion of the internal market.

(29) Already in January 1973 the Commission included education as one of its service areas under D-G XII, with Dahrendorf assuming responsibility for education as Commissioner. Later, in 1981, educational matters shifted from science and research to D-G V (Social Policy) under Ivor Richard, Commissioner for Social Affairs, which facilitated closer coordination between training, youth policy, employment and education.

(30) The relationship between education and the economy has been extensively explored by many researchers. Clearly instrumentalist concerns prompt some commentators to warn that the stress on education in terms of human capital development, productivity, flexibility and transferable skills diminishes the social, cultural and political contributions that education makes. As Apple recently wrote, the instrumentalist vision of education is irresistably tempting to governments who increasingly see their educational systems as simply one more tool in their response to economic decline and... the crisis in productivity and [international competitiveness]. (Apple, CER, 1992, 127). While the EC has been keen to develop "a European dimension" in education which is not solely related to economic needs, it has been difficult for the various components (curricular, pedagogic and textual) of this orientation to avoid such a connection.

(31) Like the Council of Europe, the Community priorities then lay in the areas of compilation of statistics and documentation, academic recognition of diplomas and courses of study; another priority was inter-institutional cooperation.

(32) This remains a contentious area; MacGregor stated:  
The key question is that the autonomy of the Member State is paramount; we have agreed a policy of cooperation, not harmonisation. Sometimes it looks as though Brussels wants the harmonisation of educational systems over time. We believe that greater exchange and cooperation is both possible and desirable, but reject the principle of harmonisation. (Source as for footnote 28)

(33) The Report was carried out on behalf of the Commission by the European Institute of Education and Social Policy of the European Cultural Foundation. The EIESP was set up in Paris in 1975 in cooperation with the ECF, the EEC and ICED with the goals of studying educational and social policy problems in a European context, to forge a link between research and policy-making, and to promote European cooperation in these areas. It has been closely involved with the assessment of student mobility, particularly the Study Abroad Evaluation Project, (SAEP) and with assessing the impact of IT on training and higher education. The European Cultural Foundation was created in 1954 "to promote cultural, social and educational activities of a multinational nature and a European character." (ECF Annual Report, 1984)

(34) It is pointed out that only two areas of undergraduate study - languages and management studies - can lay claim to the same principles that underpin postgraduate mobility, namely that study abroad offers benefits that are unattainable at home; the most active areas of undergraduate mobility were at the time of the Report precisely in those two areas.

(35) See Chapter Three, Part Three, footnote 22. The ECF also played a key role in co-sponsoring, together with the American NCFLIS, the Bellagio Conference in 1981 which led to the decision to undertake comparative research into the student mobility aspects of European and American international education. This led to the setting up of the SAEP, a project that subsequently led to three major publications, (Briggs & Burn, 1985; Oppen. Teichler & Calson, 1990, and Burn, Cerych & Smith, 1990).

In a recent article Clark Kerr makes the interesting observation that Brussels may succeed better by acting like a foundation rather than like a new level of government challenging older bureaucracies. The foundation approach is advantageous, in particular, in aiding financially the more dynamic institutions with the more entrepreneurial leaderships rather than the more complacent, thus conferring also recognition and a new source of prestige. (Kerr, 1990, 17)

This area - the comparative analysis of Foundation activity in relation to the development of US, European (and Japanese?) international education - constitutes a fascinating area for further research.

(36) The JSP grant scheme was intended to prime the pump for joint development of courses or parts of courses between

institutions of higher education. Where such joint programmes provide for study periods abroad, additional finance is available towards the travel and subsistence costs of students participating in the programme... Two types of JSP grants are available: Preparatory Visit Grants...[and]...Development Grants. (CEC, 1985, 2)

The tally up to 1985 stood at 448 Preparatory Grants and 494 Development grants, linking over 500 higher education institutions in the Community; a year later applications had risen another 20% and nearly 700 institutions were involved at the point at which ERASMUS was about to appear on the horizon. (Figures from Delta, 2/86, i)

The SSVs, as a support for the JSPs, provide grants to teaching, administrative and research staff from higher education institutions:

to enable those professionally engaged in higher education to extend their knowledge and experience of higher education in other Member states. Preference will be given to applicants whose proposed SSV has a specific and clearly defined purpose and may be expected to contribute to the Community objective.

(original emphasis) (CEC, 1985, 4)

Up to 1985, there had been 900 SSV participants. In 1986 the focus for SSVs was for persons with an interest in "the recognition and validation of academic qualifications and periods of study abroad...the promotion of relations between institutions of higher education," (CEC 1985, 4)

(37) Interestingly, in the American context, the equivalent of the Europeans' industrial and technological capability has been the "national interest", and international education has been pursued quite clearly for many years with that as its justification. The cultural dimension of international education in the US has generally been subsumed in ostensibly domestic terms, as multiculturalism. As of writing (1990) the multicultural seems to be moving back up the agenda in the US, reinserting a domestic, internal note onto the international education agenda.

(38) The EC proposed a cultural policy in February 1988, but this has no legal basis in either the Treaty of Rome or the Single European Act. The 1992 date, however, did prompt renewed concern over the cultural dimension of Europe. In Brussels, in November 1988, M. Jacques Chaban-Delmas cited Monnet as saying that had he to initiate the European Community again, he would start with culture rather than coal and steel. Fontaine has suggested that what Monnet actually said was that he would have started with education, not economics. As van Nieuwenhuijze suggests, "the authenticity [of such quotations] is said to be uncertain; the fact that [it] circulates nonetheless, perhaps as a myth, is significant." (1989, 7)

In an interview with François Duchêne, Monnet's Chef du Cabinet during the 1960s, he could not confirm the veracity of quotes such as these, but he found them "well within the bounds of the possible," (January 2nd 1990).

(39) Extending to the English language dailies such as The Guardian, The European, and weeklies such as The Observer. Even The Reader's Digest ran a feature on ERASMUS and COMETT in June 1990.

(40) It was always possible to regard study abroad and student mobility as a form of *auslandspolitik*, and American exponents of this view, from Coombs to Heller have seen it as fulfilling an important function in cultural diplomacy and technology transfer. Heller, along with many others regards it as a potential remedy to some domestic deficiencies. This view, also explored by NAFSA, basically contends that the presence of foreign students on the nation's campuses is a positive counter to nativism, parochialism and general cultural and political myopia. (Heller, 1989, 36-9)

(41) Neave suggests that the closest analogy to these interventions and intentions is the American Marshall Plan for European recovery of the late 1940s. While this may be true in some aspects, it is not being planned with the same degree of political purposiveness because the 'enemy', so sharply delineated in a bi-polar world, is not so clearly discerned when it comes to regional integration.

(42) As Dillemans observes:

it becomes clear that the Community does not intend to deal itself with the issues of university policy that presently stand in the way of an effective system of mobility for university students. The idea...is that the Community should only make available some mechanisms providing financial and other incentives in order for the Member States and their universities to adapt their rules and practices which obstruct mobility. Thus the Community is trying to keep the middle road between its own power arising from Article 128 of the Treaty and the power of the Member States in the field of university education. (Dillemans, 1987, 53)

(43) "Exchange energy" was a term employed in the COMETT Bulletin, (No.2, June 1988, 2). It should also be clear at this point that the LINGUA and TEMPUS programmes of the Community are excluded from this survey, since they emerge slightly later. They are, however, based to some extent on the earlier schemes.

(44) COMETT (Action Programme of the Community in Education and Training for Technology) was adopted in its final version by a decision of the EC Council on July 24, 1986. The programme rests on one three-year phase of action - COMETT I (1987-9) and a five year phase - COMETT II, starting in 1990.

(45) In greater detail the four Phase 1 strands comprise:

A) UETPs designed to promote long-term regionally and/or sectorally-based training cooperation between universities and industry. The UETPs form the infrastructural base for the other strands outlined below.

- B) Community Exchange Schemes between universities and industry involving students, academic and industrial staff, "in order to build up a strong European dimension to industry-university cooperation," (SE 1/86, 22). Universities use Strand B for student placements to enhance integrated work and study, as well as to second university staff (Fellowships) to enterprises for training purposes.
- C) Development of specific joint continuing training projects directly related to the needs of high-technology industry in the Community. The emphasis is on responding to skills deficits and developing knowledge and applications transfers.
- D) Promotion of joint efforts between university and industry in developing open learning systems and pooling efforts in connection with the training of trainers, with particular reference to the needs of SMEs. There is an emphasis on the use of IT and computer assisted learning, as well as on the exploitation of communication technologies, etc., in connection with distance learning. The setting up of a database on university-industry cooperation in this field, along with the dissemination of information through the COMETT Information Centres in all Member States.

(46) COMETT II was adopted on December 16th 1988. The 45 MECU allocated to COMETT I proved to be totally inadequate to the volume of applications - it is estimated that the cost of meeting all the applications would have been over 200 MECU. The Commission has estimated the allocation for COMETT II at 250 MECU, and the Council of Ministers has approved a budget of 200 MECU. While this sounds impressive, and represents a 160% increase on COMETT I calculated on a yearly basis, it must also be remembered that this sum represents less than 2% of the Community's R & D Framework Programme; successful companies spend not less than 10% of their R & D budgets on education and training. (COMETT Bulletin, 2, 1988, 3)

COMETT II retains strands A and B, modifies and combines Strands C and D into the new 'Joint Advanced Training Projects and Multimedia Distance Training', and emphasises increased targeting for strategic areas of the Community's R & D programme like IT, Telecommunications, Biotechnology and New Materials. COMETT II suggests increased diversification of transnational mobility, urging universities to integrate industrial placements for students into their courses, and offering new grants for personnel seconded from universities or companies to another Member State to participate in training activities. The objectives of COMETT II pinpoint the requirement for improved training for balanced economic and social development, emphasise the European dimension of university-enterprise cooperation, calling attention to the role that the universities play in the completion of the internal market, foster the joint development of training programmes, and target them more effectively on SMEs, paying particular attention to equal opportunities for women. There is also concern to redress the

imbalance resulting from too large a proportion of proposals originating in areas with an already high concentration of universities and businesses. Lastly, there is the express intention of opening COMETT II to EFTA countries and international organisations on the basis of mutual interest.

(47) See the earlier discussion of this in Section One, Part Three of this chapter; See also CEC 86/365, July 1986.

(48) The COMETT Bulletin's Editorial conveys in a different manner some of the enthusiasm that has been occasioned by the rapid growth of the programme, mentioning the impressive surge of interest from all agencies and interested parties during the first year of operation.

We should be talking of a COMETT community, bringing to life the exchange energy that transnational European cooperation is generating, whether through the electronic mail system that has just been launched or in many other ways. (COMETT Bulletin, 2, 1988, 2)

(49) An additional concern of the Parliament is for the incorporation of elements in COMETT that will promote the equal participation of women, the provision of childcare and job security elements in the package, etc., - things which the Commission, in its enthusiasm for the Big Idea, often overlooks, and which IRDAC and UNICE are unlikely to promote, though the ETUC (European Trade Union Congress) commentary on the COMETT II proposals emphasises the effects of the programme on the "social dialogue".

(50) Executive Summary and Recommendations, Industrial Research and Development Advisory Committee, Annex 1, (COM (88) Final, July 25, 1988, 23-24). IRDAC is a consultative group of leading industrialists established by the Commission which offers advice on the development and implementation of R & D programmes in the industrial sector. The Working Party established to advise the Commission on the development of COMETT II was chaired by Sir Robert Telford, President of Marconi, and other members of the party represented such European Business giants as Philips, Rhône-Poulenc, Siemens, IBM, and General Electric.

(51) In IRDAC's opinion, defining sectoral priorities (whether industrial or technological) is difficult since needs change rapidly and vary across regions. The paramount need is to develop relevant and adequate skills at all post-secondary levels related to applying the emerging technologies across SMEs and across traditional industries. *The bottom-up approach is essential to develop programmes and actions which aim at awareness building and transferability of experience and programmes; such programmes should be given priority.* (added emphasis) (CEC 429, 1988, 24)

Thompson & Ambler in their EC-commissioned evaluation of COMETT I (EJE, xxv, 1, 1990, 23-37) put their main emphasis on efficiency criteria, therefore by definition they tend to

assess the more quantifiable aspects of success rather than the socio-psychological advantages bestowed by mobility on the individuals concerned or on the net gain to Europeanist thought. They found that COMETT had indeed brought into being projects that would not otherwise have taken place, and they do report an increase in management confidence regarding transnational collaboration. They too, like IRDAC, found the responsive, bottom-up approach to be more appropriate than selected strategic priorities imposed by the Commission. Even so, they concluded that the impact of COMETT had been greater in the educational than in the industrial sector.

(52) The initial COMETT proposal recognised that the time-scale within which business and education operated differed; the shorter-term commercial focus of industry and commerce had to be reconciled to the longer-term perspectives of education through a structured partnership which would erode the mutual isolation of the two spheres. (CEC 431 1985, 4)

(53) Thesis writer's translation of:

pour un meilleur équilibre entre les stages  
d'étudiants et la formation continue,  
and,

un stagiaire étranger est un oeil neuf pour  
l'entreprise et peut-être un contact pour  
l'avenir.... Nous voulons aider ceux pour qui  
l'Europe n'existe pas encore, pour qui faire  
quelques kilomètres est encore une aventure...  
Grâce aux AUEF (UETP), l'Europe de demain ne se  
limitera pas aux relations entre Bruxelles d'un côté,  
et les douze capitales européennes de l'autre.

(54) The original figure was 85 MECU, but European Parliamentary intervention raised another 7.5 MECU. The mobility grants are administered by the Member States themselves, thus decentralising and simplifying the administration of the programme. In the first year of operation, 1987, nearly 400 interuniversity cooperation projects, involving over 850 institutions were financially assisted, over 1,100 teachers were supported in Study Visits, and 3,000 student mobility grants were made. By 1990 it is intended that 25,000 students will have benefitted from ERASMUS, and about half of the higher education institutions in Europe (1,700) will have received funds to assist their exchange planning activities. The target by the early 1990s is to achieve a Community mobility rate of 5% - the earlier, over-ambitious target was 10%. Application figures for academic year 1988-89 reveal that ERASMUS has triggered a ready response from institutions and individuals in all parts of the Community. Over 2,000 applications for support have been received under the ICP scheme (Interuniversity Cooperation Programme), an increase of 250% on the first year. The majority of proposed ICPs request support for student mobility activity, but there are 744 proposals for integrated exchanges of faculty, 575 proposals involving joint curriculum development, and 522 requests for the funding of intensive teaching programmes involving students and faculty from several Member States. These

requests will probably oversubscribe the available budget by 500%.

(55) Details of the four Actions are as follows:

Action 1 European University Networks/ICPs

(a) Funds to be channelled to assist the development of a European University Network as the foundation for the subsequent emphasis on awarding assistance grants for student mobility (Action 2). This infrastructural pump-priming is front-loaded as most of the first year budget of 10 MECU went on grants to higher education institutions to enable them to develop the kind of management capabilities necessary to cope efficiently with the substantially increased faculty and student mobility anticipated as the programme gets under way. The average grant to institutions laying this groundwork was 10,000 ECU per annum, (maximum grant available is 25,000 ECU).

(b) Grants are also available to assist with travel expenses of staff members carrying out teaching assignments abroad and meeting the temporary replacement costs at their home institutions.

(c) Grants to facilitate institutional staff travel to sound out prospects for further consideration of future cooperative programmes, or for enhancing the background knowledge essential to good inter-institutional ventures. (This strand resembles the earlier SSVs).

Action 2 Student Grants

(a) Grants to students to cover the extra "mobility costs" of study abroad - travel, language preparation, cost of living differentials, etc., of students spending a recognised period of study (usually at least one term) in another EC country. The first priority goes to those participating in programmes funded under the European University Network, the average grant being 2,000 ECU and the maximum 5,000 ECU.

(b) Students receiving ERASMUS funds will continue to utilise home country loans or grants.

(c) ERASMUS grantholders will pay no tuition fees to their host institution, but will normally continue to pay the home fees.

Action 3 Academic Recognition

(a) The launching of a six-year pilot scheme, the ECTS, (European Community Course Credit Transfer System) based on mutual academic recognition of degrees and course units.

(b) Consolidation of the NARIC network, (National Academic Recognition Information Centres).

(c) Grants for the development of common curricula between cooperating institutions of higher education in different Member States.



#### Action 4 Additional Measures

(a) Grants of up to 20,000 ECU for facilitating intensive teaching programmes of short duration involving students from many states.

(b) Grants to university associations and consortia operating on a Europe-wide basis and seeking to innovate in this area.

(c) Grants for top-level experts to give lectures.

(d) Grants for the publication and dissemination of information.

(e) Prizes for outstanding contributions to European inter-university cooperation, awarded to students, faculty and administrators in higher education.

(56) Despite this very modest level of soft funding, many institutions of higher education have been quick to recognise a new source of legitimation. Since the direct benefits of university education are often difficult to assess accurately, despite the access to professions gained through possession of diplomas, there is some appeal in being invited to serve the grander purpose of European integration, and they therefore appear willing to play their part in creating the skills and attitudes essential for the next generation of specialists and professionals for whom the right of establishment and practice on a Community-wide basis will be assumed.

(57) This view of ERASMUS as the Trojan horse of harmonisation did not appear to alarm the former British Minister of Education, John MacGregor, who commented:

I was delighted when I got to the Department how much the UK was gaining from the ERASMUS programme. We are among the three leaders, along with France and Germany - over 150 UK institutions are participants in Inter-University Programmes. This programme comes under the vocational stream, although the expectation that study abroad should become part of higher education was initially experienced as a cultural and manpower interchange. (MacGregor, October 30, 1990, Chatham House)

(58) The legitimation of ERASMUS necessitates a short review. The genesis, as in all Community actions, has to be traced back to the Treaty establishing the Community itself, in particular Article 128:

The Council shall....lay down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy capable of contributing to the harmonious development both of the national economies and of the common market. CEC, 1979, 215)

Next comes the Council decision of April 1963 which established general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy (Decision 63/266/EEC). Two

particular elements of that policy, are cited - enabling every person to reach the highest possible level of vocational training which is necessary for his professional activity, and the broadening of vocational training to meet requirements arising from technical progress, linking the different forms of vocational training to social and economic developments:

It is the Commission's responsibility to encourage direct exchanges of vocational training specialists in order to enable them to acquaint themselves with and study the achievements and the new developments in the other Member States. (CEC, 1989, p.10)

Mention is also made in this document of the stablemate COMETT programme, anchored amongst the measures taken to strengthen Community technology cooperation through the upgrading of necessary human resources.

(59) What is noticeable about this preamble is the way in which greater emphasis is placed on polemics than on the legal basis; the claim of overall consensus can be seen as a pre-emptive move against those who would argue that the legal basis for ERASMUS is far more tenuous than is the case with COMETT.

(60) Thesis writer's translations of:

- (a) Si, en effet, l'intérêt de la CEE pour l'éducation est partie de préoccupations économiques (il s'agit de fournir aux entreprises les personnels qualifiés et les moyens technologiques leur permettent d'affronter la nouvelle révolution industrielle), cette approche tend à s'élargir. Elle rejoint désormais le projet d'Europe sociale et la revendication d'autonomie culturelle face à la double emprise américaine et japonaise, qui revêtent de plus en plus d'importance pour les Etats européens;
- (b) L'éducation et la formation sont au coeur du projet européen.... Dans une phase de profondes mutations, la recherche et l'éducation sont les deux nerfs de la guerre économique;
- (c) une société prend visage, et les efforts des institutions doivent conduire à lui donner plus de chair.
- (d) cette tendance à dépasser le "tout économique", à déborder vers une communauté plus douce, correspond à l'air du temps, en particulier en Allemagne et en France... Elle devrait donc trouver un écho favorable même si l'éducation (contrairement à la formation, subtile distinction...) ne fait pas partie des domaines couverts par le traité de Rome. Plusieurs Etats membres s'embarquaient sans enthousiasme hors des sentiers bien balisés du traité.

(61) These apparent similarities that mask very real

differences can be illustrated by comparing the agenda of NAFSA conferences with those of EAIE. Although the latter has only been established for three years, and despite it being modelled to some extent on NAFSA, (NAFSA provided important support at its inception), it is clear that professional international educators in Europe return again and again to the *leitmotiv* of the EC's role in mobility, equivalence and related issues. At the Amsterdam (1990) and Montpellier (1991) conferences, it was clear that the most prominent point of mutual contact, and thus the base for the bonding and networking that took place was ERASMUS.

(62) Driven by the imperative of the Single Market, the Community is endeavouring to lower the barriers that internally differentiate access to various professions; this *ipso facto* has an effect on educational institutions, but this effect was not primarily motivated by a desire to harmonize the educational systems of Europe. The US case differs in the sense that there is less state regulation of education, and the status of a degree is therefore based on the prestige of the university that awarded it. Each State in the US organises its own legal and medical licensing procedures (bar exams, etc.) for which all Americans, regardless of which State their degree is from, may sit; in some cases States recognise each others' exams, but this is not always the case. The consequence of this separation between education and access to a profession is lightly-regulated educational services along with continent-wide mobility. In Europe, we are aiming at the same kind of mobility while keeping simultaneously the more or less automatic link between the obtention of a certain diploma and access to a profession. This really is an argument to have the best of both worlds. The knowledge, however, that what is being attempted is unique and goes beyond US traditions encourages an awareness of the extent of both the difficulties that lie ahead and the political challenge that is inherent to them. (Dillemans, 57-8)

(63) COMETT and ERASMUS form a base upon which the next phase of Community programmes can be built; drawing on the ERASMUS model other programmes that aim to develop Euro-consciousness in the younger generation via exchanges, like LINGUA, will evolve. Just as ERASMUS has provided a base for a series of complementary programmes which retain a family resemblance to the anchor scheme, COMETT provides a platform from which other associated programmes can be developed. COMETT has already influenced efforts to improve the competitive position of European firms by strengthening the bonds between the production and the knowledge sectors (see Strange). One of the spinoffs from COMETT I can be seen in the increased emphasis given in COMETT II to distance learning in the area of advanced technologies. Echoes of the US National Technological University, a satellite and land line-based distance learning project can be seen in PACE, the European Programme of Advanced Continuing Engineering Education which diffuses advanced courses aimed at top level engineering and research managers by satellite. The present emphasis is on AI, telecommunications, software engineering, industrial engineering, micro electronics and the management

of technology. This orientation towards elite-level knowledge exchange and dissemination is clearly a refinement and counterpart to the more mass-based second strand of COMETT; the networks engendered through PACE, based on personnel who are anyway far more mobile, can be developed without the need for physical displacement. Another COMETT offshoot is SATURN, a more widely-based version of PACE focused for the moment on space technologies.

(64) the only part the Community intends to play is to encourage and coordinate action started at the grass roots...in the establishments of higher education. Those responsible for the exchange programmes will have to devise them, set them up and make them work. (EPWD A 2 - 22/86, 1986, p.13).

(65) As a result of the coordinated and funded international education policies of the EC, European professional international educators are now developing as an interest group that shares a common knowledge of the mechanics of EC mobility schemes, primarily ERASMUS and COMETT. They will be able to pressurise and lobby key EC organisations in pursuit of their demands for greater support. The Commission, the ERASMUS Bureau, the European Parliament and other European consultative bodies all provide an integrated framework for a new EC-based lobby of international educators.

(66) The ERASMUS and COMETT projects also illustrate the way in which the Commission is using a form of supranational intervention (involving indicative planning, administrative and financial resources) to lubricate the engine of European integration which, left to the interaction of market forces alone, might not necessarily produce the desired results. Although the reduction of the state's role in steering educational policy proceeds apace in the U.K., the Netherlands and in Germany, it is hard to see the educational aspects of European integration proceeding without a significant amount of supragovernmental pump-priming, albeit of the variety that positively fosters institutional initiatives.

The wherewithal to start changing attitudes, altering mentalities, extending awareness and engaging the multiplier effect of cross-national collaboration cannot come from market forces alone. Possibly the straitened circumstances in which many European higher education institutions find themselves at present, as a result of supply-side policies pursued by their governments, have made them particularly responsive to the small inducements to internationalise their outlook and activity that the Community is able to offer.

Given the preponderance of the public sector in European higher education, it can hardly be argued that international and inter-institutional cooperation, leading to a higher degree of regional integration could usefully come about through private sector initiatives alone. Private sector colleges do engage in forms of international education (members of the AAICU network are good examples),

but given their minority status, their financial constraints, and the small numbers of students involved, the desired changes cannot be effected by this segment. The role to be played by higher education in attaining the goal of European integration is only possible, at this stage, through supra-national, neo-Keynesian pump-priming that will use Community resources to mobilise the higher education constituency into the kind of mobility that will affect both public and private sector organisations. Eventually the investments made in public sector higher education will improve the international and regional competitiveness of the private sector. Those who see the completion of the Single Market as vindicating the dynamism of market forces also need to acknowledge the crucial role played by supra-governmental investment policies. Given that, the impact of European international education on two levels - the systems and institutions of higher education, and the development of a regional consciousness of a generation of students - is likely to be more far-reaching than its transatlantic parallel.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

The pressures for change in education are often political and economic in origin, and are rarely conceptualised at grass-roots level. (Dalin, 1971, 32)

This chapter continues the comparative analysis of US and European international education, but does so by adopting a different method. Preceding chapters used a structural, macroscopic level of analysis. This chapter offers micro-level insights into the core comparative questions of the thesis: *how* and *why* do European and US international education differ? In four institutions the internal circumstances through which international education emerges are examined (1).

It is argued that an explanatory account of differences in EC and US international education has to examine the institutional, organisational context within which international education is practiced. This chapter thus adopts an ethnographic approach to the phenomenon. Despite Dalin's cautionary statement above, echoes of the structural and systemic causes of differentiation in EC and US international education should be present in the accounts rendered at the institutional level. Variations in orientation and function established earlier should be reflected at institutional level, albeit mediated by local factors.

#### Purpose

As stated in Chapter One, this thesis pursues two modes of investigation, the global and structural, and the local and interactionist. In order that the relationship between

these two modes of explanation may be properly addressed this chapter will present the accounts of those engaged in institutional international education activities.

The four main purposes of this chapter are:-

- (a) to establish a conceptual and methodological base for the presentation of an institutional level of analysis;
- (b) to compare US and EC international education through the perspective of those operating at institutional level;
- (c) to explore the extent to which structural influences are echoed at the institutional level;
- (d) to demonstrate that both structural changes and institutional concerns and priorities intersect to produce a growth in commitment to international education, particularly in the area of undergraduate student mobility.

The accounts which actors give for international education activity are expected to indicate the need for a supplementary level of understanding somewhat below the global and regional. The fieldwork traces the considerations and justifications used by people in the processes leading to a higher institutional profile in international education.

### Argument

Earlier chapters established that structural factors have influenced the orientation, functions and forms of international education in the EC and the US. However, although international education is influenced by macroscopic strategic, economic and political factors, it comes into being in local and specific instances.

It is argued that accounts of local, institutionally-based developments must parallel the systemic level of analy-

sis. To explain how structural and systemic influences bring international education of a certain orientation into being, the processes which result in its institutional emergence in the US and the EC need to be explored.

In this Chapter, therefore, international education is viewed through the eyes of practitioners and those responsible for its implementation. Particular stress is laid on their perceptions of the significance of both external and institutional criteria in accounting for the development of international education in their institutions (2).

### Structure

The chapter is divided into four parts. Part One deals with conceptual and methodological issues in two sections. The first section establishes the theoretical basis of the chapter. Broader conceptual issues are discussed before proceeding to argue for an institutional level of analysis where developments in international education are conceived as a curricular or organisational innovation. The second section deals with methodology - the research design - and with fieldwork (interview) methods, including a discussion of the categories of analysis adopted for the interviews.

Part Two explores EC perspectives on international education at two UK institutions. Part Three parallels the UK-based account with reference to two US institutions. Both parts utilise material elicited through over thirty interviews conducted at the four institutions during 1989 and 1990. Evidence is grouped by institution and is presented through a combination of respondent and theme. The themes are discussed in greater detail below.

Part Four provides a selective summary of the main



fieldwork-based findings, and a pointer toward the final chapter where the micro and macro levels of analysis are integrated.

Part One - Methodology: Analytical Framework & Fieldwork Issues

In this part the conceptual framework of this chapter is linked to the theoretical outline established in Chapter One. This discussion is then developed in order to establish the need for a case study approach based on institutional developments in international education. The argument is made for institutionally-based international education activity to be conceptualised in terms of organisational innovation.

In the second section of Part One, various facets of the research design are examined. Issues arising from the fieldwork methods (interviews) are also discussed.

Section One: Structure and Agency

Gauging the influence of society upon education has traditionally involved a choice between the sociological antinomies of 'structure' and 'agency' or 'action'. It has often been difficult to delineate between the object of investigation (education), the context within which it operates (society), and the activities of individuals and groups (social actors);

the social and economic climate pervades higher education and acts... as a field of force. Thus any historical treatment of higher education would take the social and economic background as an essential context within which to explain the way in which the academic enterprise has developed (Becher & Kogan, 1980, 24-5).

Having drawn attention to this consideration, Becher & Kogan

then exclude it from their investigation which then focuses more upon the internal domain than the wider context.

This thesis, however, did not exclude such 'background' factors since - as argued in Chapters Two, Three and Four - international education is linked in complex ways to strategic, economic, cultural and social developments. Sir Michael Sadler's observation

that in studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the school matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside, (from Hough, 5)

is just as relevant in the case of international education.

Yet somehow such perspectives have to be balanced with the equally cogent assertion that a national system of higher education is

not a mere epiphenomenon, dependent for its direction upon the political order, the economic forces of production or 'the world system'. There are decisive processes within as well as without, mechanisms for growth and qualitative change which are an integral aspect of the functioning of the system. (Burton Clark, 1984, 272)

Middle ground has to be established that links a systemic view of developments in international education with observations of what actually occurs in both American and European institutions. Sociological grand theory, which seeks general explanations for particular processes, has to be honed down in order that the 'morphogenetic character' (structural elaboration over time) of educational systems can be accounted for (Archer, 1982a).

For decades, the problem of how to link human agency and social structure, has seen sociological theory seesaw toward structure or toward action, with one or the other element being marginalised or overlooked. Giddens observes that the

development of an adequate theoretical account which simultaneously deals with the people that constitute society and the social formation of human agents leads to the recognition of a symbiotic relationship where

the notions of action and structure presuppose one another but that recognition of this dependence, which is a dialectical relation, necessitates a re-working of a series of concepts linked to each of these terms and of the terms themselves. (Giddens, 1979, 53)

His solution to the weakness of the structuralist position which accounts for action as derivative of system - the 'structure as patterning' position - is:

the duality of structure: structure is both the medium and the outcome of the reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and 'exists' in the generating moments of the constitution. (*ibid.* 5)

Thus Giddens suggests that structural and systemic forces do not just operate as external forces that mould social action, but that structural properties are to be found in the constitutive everyday actions and interactions of individuals and institutions. A later and slightly less strained conceptualisation is seen in terms of the more abstract relations of "presence and absence: underlying codes [which] have to be inferred from surface manifestations," (Giddens, 1984, 16).

A record of the structural and systemic reference points cited by individual international educators working in specific institutions should therefore reveal the existence of the kind of influences established in previous chapters of the thesis.

Archer, critiquing structuration theory, points to the

time dimension as the neglected element of a theory of causality. Insisting that the time-space intersection be theorised, she argues that all social activities are *situated* activities in structural, spatial, but also in *temporal* terms. Her concept of morphogenesis suggests a process of complex interactions producing changes in a system's form, structure and state over time. Compared with Giddens' structuration theory, Archer's concept of morphogenesis offers more methodological advantages since it focuses on the interplay between structure and agency over time in a way that the simultaneity of Giddens' "duality of structure" precludes.

Archer suggests that an adequate sociology of education must incorporate statements about the structural conditioning of educational innovation and about the influence of independent action on educational change. Morphogenetic approaches, "deal with the *identification of structures... the investigation of processes* of interaction, and the *specification of mechanisms*," (Archer, 1990, 88, added emphasis). (3).

As presented above, both Giddens and Archer have addressed the interplay of structure and action, arguing against the extremes of reductionist and voluntarist accounts of social behaviour. Since this thesis aims at an understanding of *both* systemic properties and voluntaristic social action, the complex interplay necessitates the inclusion of both structural accounts and accounts of the development of international education in specific institutions. In the next sub-section the argument is made for a case study approach to international education in the US and EC.

#### The Argument for Case Studies and an Institutional Dimension

This sub-section establishes the basis for an insti-

tutional level of investigation that envisages developments in international education as organisational innovations.

Institutions exist in time and space and incorporate the notion of interdependent relationships which are both situated and generative. Within specific institutions the interplay between the elements, motivations and influences that lead to variations in the amount and character of international education can be observed. An institutional level of analysis "leaps over the fences of the social sciences to look at the major tools of modern social action" (Clark, 1984, 108). Choosing an institutional approach allows us to avoid what Giddens has identified as a common sociological error -

[the adoption] of the methodological tactic of beginning their analyses by discounting agents' reasons for their action in order to discover the 'real' stimuli to their activity, of which they are ignorant. (Giddens, 1979, 71)

However, the opposite danger is also present; the 'internalist' account can also distort the analysis. Levine (1980) has pointed to "the centrality of organisational facts of life in shaping change" (p.43), but organisational activity takes place in a context not of its own making.

Harari, in discussing the range of activities encompassed by international education, points to an institutional dimension that is amenable to investigation:

international education must encompass not only the curriculum, international exchanges of scholars and students, training, research, etc., *but also a distinct commitment, attitudes, an orientation, a dimension which transcends the entire institution and shapes its ethos.* (added emphasis) (Harari, 1989, 2)

The case studies provide concrete examples of the sources of commitment to international education. They indicate how and

whether key actors believe realist or idealist, structural or institutional factors to be conducive to the development of international education.

Establishing the utility of an institutional basis of investigation leaves open the question of how to categorise international education activities within the organisation. The solution adopted to deal with the complex interplay of structural and institutional factors was to invite respondents to conceptualise international education activities as a relatively new area of institutional life, an innovation that they were closely identified with. It is worth reiterating Becher & Kogan's observation that while the *origins* of educational innovation and change may be widespread and may emanate from above, below or within an organisation, the "actual *process* of innovation is localised and specific," (1980, 121; emphasis added).

The process of innovation can be seen as the management of the interaction between the context factors (the external dimensions that influence the whole process) and the (internal) steps of the process, (Per Dalin, 1971, 21). Respondents would be invited to render their account for the commitment of institutional resources in this area. Such accounts would be particularly sensitive to the degree to which internal and external considerations were voiced.

#### *The Main Factors in Innovation*

This sub-section establishes the basis on which institutional commitment to international education can be regarded as an innovation, thus making the interview schedule more focused.

Though cultural, scientific and technical events are the precursors of educational change and curricular responsiveness, the subsequent educational innovations and changes are clearly mediated by individuals and groups working within institutions. How aware are such individuals of the external and internal influences on innovation?

International education activity is, at least in terms of volume, a programme innovation for most institutions.

Innovation can be seen both as a product and as a process. Approaching international education as an ongoing, interactive process makes it particularly amenable to interview techniques.

The perspective adopted here is process-oriented, viewing international education as an activity focused on cross-border contacts and transactions that involves growing numbers of institutional actors. The products of such processes range from curricular outcomes (new courses, amended degree requirements) to the establishment of new organisational units that handle the administrative aspects of increased international activity. However, the emphasis in the interviews will be on the *process* rather than the *product*. This is due to van Vught's contention that "innovations will be diffused mainly through communication between colleagues" (1989, 261).

The literature on innovation has identified a range of enabling and inhibiting factors, as well as exploring the dynamics of the process. Van Vught's discussion of innovation theory in higher education stresses the interactive nature of the process and reviews the variables affecting the propensity of institutions to respond positively to change. These

range through instability, status, pressure from above and the nature of system integration (bureaucratic or market-oriented). Bok (1986) points to the finding that external pressures to innovate are only successful when they find an echo in initiatives or opinion within the institution. Rogers & Shoemaker (1971) suggest that critical factors in the success or otherwise of innovation include compatibility with existing values, relative advantage, simplicity, triability (*sic*) and visibility. Levine (1980) simplifies these to compatibility and profitability.

In their analysis of change and innovation in education, Becher & Kogan (1980) allocate a minimal role to change from above. They opt instead to emphasise changes at the institutional level since these occur more frequently and are often more successful than the rare systemic-level examples. They identify three main types of innovation: those resulting from the activity of external pressure groups, those occasioned by modifications to the internal balance of power, and those resulting from change in either academic or market demand.

Becher & Kogan have observed in the context of what they term the normative-operational [idealist-realist] distinction, "resource allocations are a metaphor for the allocation of values," (1980, 77). The innovation process can be identified as a mediation between norms and operations, one or the other of which is affected by extrinsic considerations (*ibid.*, 121).

Given the range of factors associated with both the shift to a case study approach and to the analysis of actors' perceptions of international education as innovation, it is



necessary to explore research methodology and methods of investigation. This is undertaken in the next section.

## Section Two: Method

This section covers both both the selection of case study institutions and the means by which the review was conducted - interviews.

### Case Study Institutions

The function that the case study institutions serve is to cast empirical light on the conditions in which international education activities emerge at their point of delivery to students. The chapter draws upon interview material from four selected institutions. The range of suitable institutions was enormous since any tertiary level institution in North America and the European Community engaged in some form of crossborder activity would qualify. Four institutions were selected, two from the US and two in the UK. In the UK a university and a polytechnic were chosen; in the US a large state university and a small state college were selected. Comments on the selection criteria are clearly in order here.

The institutions that were selected had to be in some sense representative of institutions operating in a particular system. To that end, the following elements were incorporated. The institutions had to be located within the US and the EC, and had to represent two levels of the higher education sector (as existed at the time of the investigation) - university and college or polytechnic. They had to demonstrate an institutional commitment to international education, and had to have established programmes in this area.

Both British institutions have strong, long-established

links with other higher education institutions in EC member states. Both formed part of the UK database for the Study Abroad Evaluation Project (Baron & Smith, 1987; Oppen, Teichler & Carlson, 1990), and have also attracted attention in other sources on account of their international connections. Reflecting both sides of the former binary divide, they provide useful points of comparison for institutionally-based international education within the European context.

Since the range of internationally active institutions in the US is enormous, the search process was guided partly by accessibility, and partly by institutional reflection of the patterns in US international education practice discussed in Chapter Three. During the review of suitable institutional candidates, these criteria were met more readily by the two institutions selected than by other candidates. Other factors of operational convenience are discussed below.

The choice of UK institutions was dictated by the following considerations. Firstly, the British rate of participation in EC international education schemes such as the JSPs in the early 1980s and ERASMUS and COMETT in the late 1980s has been very high. Difficulties with the concept and ramifications of European integration in the domestic political agenda seem to have little affect on the enthusiastic response of educational institutions to the programmes now available.

A second reason concerns the best use of limited resources. Since one category in the comparison was the US, a visit to US institutions was mandatory. The additional time and expenses involved in travelling to European institutions was reduced by focusing on London-based institutions with

well-established and clear commitments to European international education.

### Categories of Analysis

The categories of analysis employed in the interviews had to be sensitive to the many dimensions of institutionally-based innovation and, at the same time, relate to the central concerns of the thesis. The approach adopted in the interviews covers two broad lines of enquiry that distinguish between 'external' and 'internal' references. While both are present at all times, perceptions of the relative importance of one or the other alter from case to case, within the same case over time, and according to the position and perspective of the institutional actor.

'External' relates directly to the structural concerns identified in Chapters Two to Four. It helps identify the degree to which references are made by European international educators to regional integration and by their US counterparts to global interdependence. This dimension indicates the impact of the various external agencies of international education available to institutions, thus highlighting the role of EC or Federal programmes, funds and other forms of assistance. External references can also be made in terms of cross-cultural understanding, European unity and similar notions.

The second range of influences are those seen by respondents as being internal to the institution. These indicate the degree to which, from the actors' perspective, institutional issues and priorities drive innovation. Here, 'local' concerns will surface and the macroscopic structural account

of human behaviour will be shown to stand in need of modification. Internal references encompass curricular and pedagogical concerns about what "ought" to be taught. Institutionally-based references also relate to market and status concerns, recruitment and retention of faculty and students, and career opportunities for graduates.

Both internal and external influences are subject to classification in terms of the categories first established in Chapter Two. That is to say, interview responses may be located along the realist-idealist, integration-interdependence and functionalist-neo-functionalist spectra. Other sensitivities plotted during interviews relate to the criteria established in Chapter Two, namely, nationalist-ethnocentric, regiocentric, geocentric and so forth.

The basis for categorising the external influences was established in Chapter Two. In the next sub-section internal influences are explored.

#### The Interview Schedule

The conceptual framework within which actors' accounts could be placed developed over time to include a range of factors and provide a means of organising respondents' sensitivities and perceptions. The interviews were designed to be open to a number of different possibilities within the two major categories (internal-external) outlined above. Five sub-categories are now suggested. They offer a more sensitive exploration of the causes of innovation in international education at institutional level.

The five dimensions are: realist-idealist, specialised administrative unit, discipline and profession, market and status considerations and educational sub-system influences.

These five dimensions are adapted from the Becher & Kogan (1981) model of change mentioned earlier.

a) Realist-Idealist

As argued in Chapter Two, 'international' has a dual nature, at once ideological-normative and empirical-descriptive. The interviews were designed to elicit whether this Janus-like attribute was reflected at institutional levels where the commitment to international education might originate from changes in the value system or at the operational level, (either or both of which could also be affected by extrinsic factors).

The idealism and stress on values that characterised earlier international education advocacy has been overtaken by events that encourage the deployment of realist and pragmatic rationales. The interviews explore the extent to which key institutional participants in international education developments cite idealist universalism or realist, operational criteria as the basis of their activity.

It was expected that the frequency of these relative emphases might vary according to context - US or European, status of institution, disciplinary base of the respondent and position in the institutional hierarchy.

In the investigation of the characteristics of international education at the macro level, and of institutional commitment to it at the micro level, perceptions of changed values and assessments of changed circumstances are involved. The interviews will seek to reveal the extent of realist and idealist rationales advanced for international education. As demonstrated in Chapters Three and Four, the discourse of

international education advocacy in the public domain encompasses both realist and idealist references. Institutional discourse, it is predicted, will reflect a similar duality.

Another internal influence on the growth of international educational activity is an administrative unit charged with responsibility for such matters. These units, often brought into being in response to institutional perceptions of changes in the external environment, are examined in the next section.

b) The International Education Administrative Unit

Institutional responses to pressures for change often lead to the creation of new administrative offices or units. Establishing whether units with specific responsibility for international education existed in the institutions concerned was an early point of enquiry, leading to subsequent analysis concerning the interaction of this office with such other elements of the institution as Departments and Schools. Probing as to the time and circumstances of creation of these offices carried the investigation toward the activities of key individuals and the rationales used by them (4).

The timing and circumstances under which an office with special responsibility for international education emerges depends to some extent on the nature and structure of the institution and its degree of commitment to international education. In some cases, the creation of an office for international education was, in practice, a tardy administrative response to a series of uncoordinated initiatives by various individuals. In others it was, in principle, established to promote, structure and organise the institution's activities in this sector from the very start. Perceptions of

and relationships to the administrative unit which by definition manages competing internal and external is an important element of the interviews.

Other internal structures that influence institutional actors include the traditional academic organisation, the Department or the School. Such structures also echo some of the orientations towards international matters of the professions and disciplines with which they are associated.

c) Academic Discipline and Profession Dimension

Respondents reflect the stance and permeability of their disciplines to international and that of the professional bodies that they relate to as well as their institutional position. For example, in the humanities and social sciences, internationalisation might be absorbed more readily, while in the sciences and engineering, internationalising activity may be resisted, or seen as the responsibility of more specialised groups. Consequently, the Department might consequently inhibit or promote international initiatives. Moreover, the criteria of advancement and promotion, which normally rest on a disciplinary or institutional basis, might reward or punish commitment to international activities of a certain type. Care was taken in the interviews to allow respondents to comment on the influence of professional bodies and the international orientation of the discipline.

The relationship of respondents to their discipline is also experienced differently according to the status of the institution itself and the system within which it operates. One important source of variation is the emphasis placed on liberal as compared with specialised education. The liberal-

arts oriented college, in contrast to the specialised university, reduces the one-dimensional thrust of the discipline and leads to more enterprise-centred activity. Such considerations also feature in the next category of analysis.

d) Market and Status Influences

Alongside the predisposition or resistance to internationalisation originating from a disciplinary base,

can be set a different range of cases relating to external changes in market demand. Where a new source of potential recruitment and eventual employment appears, provided that the subject-matter can be regarded as academically acceptable, *there is a strong temptation particularly in institutions in search of additional student numbers to [accept innovation]*. This tendency is particularly marked in relation to vocational courses. (emphasis added)  
(Becher & Kogan, 1980, 131)

This touches on the subject of institutional status, and of institutional orientation in relation to specialised, liberal or vocational education. High status, high prestige institutions are less likely to be interested in innovation since for them the *status quo* is more a source of satisfaction than frustration. Thus the case study institutions had to represent different levels in the hierarchy of tertiary education.

If market forces constitute an initial 'external' impetus for innovation, the 'internal' ramifications are to be found in the extent to which respondents recognise that such external realities apply to their institution. If they do, the references to such considerations should be plentiful. If they do not recognise them, this dimension will be absent. Within institutional hierarchies, depending on the position of the respondent, there are likely to be differences in the recognition and acknowledgement of these influen-



ces.

e) Sub-systemic Influences

Some further observations on the process and management of innovation made by Dalin are relevant at this juncture. Commenting on the differences between centralised and decentralised education systems, he suggests:

centralised systems need organisations assisting innovation; the advantages of centralised systems are that when they get ideas or feedback they can make decisions with authority, and can then allocate resources (personnel, finance). Decentralised systems are innovative in a different way, through competition and flexibility. The Americans...seem to think neither in terms of organisations, nor in terms of the selection of people, but rather in terms of developing tested innovation packages and disseminating these through the free enterprise system and backing them up with the support of funds in order to get them adopted. (1971, 17) (5)

Clark (1983) observed that market-oriented systems of higher education (i.e., the US model), have the strongest capacity to adapt to innovations. They stimulate institutions into being responsive and creative because they provide the most potent incentive - success.

This suggests that the higher education system itself, the characteristics of the institution concerned within that system, along with the disciplinary sub-culture may explain as much about developments in international education as theories that work on a larger scale. Clark's model conceives of academics operating simultaneously within the context of a discipline, a field of study and an enterprise.

The model developed in this thesis suggests that the enterprise itself operates within a national system which in turn, operates in an international system.

The complexity of pressures and influential relationships that academic institutions are exposed to is consider-

able, pushing some 'locals' into becoming 'cosmopolitans', and orienting them towards the norms and interests of more internationally-minded colleagues, while leaving others impervious to the blandishments of international education (6).

A Comment on Fieldwork Issues

The role of individuals in the development of international education programmes attracts varying amounts of attention, according to the perspective and the standpoint of the onlooker. US literature, which is more oriented towards the practical, "how to", aspects of internationalising the campus, tends to stress the role of individuals, although European literature is beginning to echo this to some extent (7)).

The methodology adopted for the collection of data for use in this chapter is ethnographic in the sense that (through open-ended interviews with key personnel associated with developments in international education at the four institutions concerned), it allows insiders to tell their own stories of institutional commitment to international education (8). "The ethnographic study allows multiple interpretations of reality and alternative interpretations of data," (Fetterman, 12).

Presentation of the views, assessments and opinions of key personnel associated with different facets of the organisation and delivery of international education within an institutional context reveals interesting perspectives reinforcing the account of international education as practice rather than as theory.

### Selection of Respondents

The selection of respondents was guided by identification of those most clearly associated with international education activity, (usually a designated formal position of responsibility *vis à vis* international education). Some were referred through others who perceived the respondent as playing a pivotal role in initiating or furthering international education.

In each institution care was taken to interview a range of personnel in order to contrast the viewpoints of respondents at different positions in organisational hierarchies. Where possible, Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) were interviewed, as were personnel associated with the functional aspects of international education administration. This enabled international education to be viewed both as part of a strategy for institutional growth and success and as an aspect of individual vocational and career development.

Problems of access were occasionally encountered, though generally respondents were pleased to make themselves available. Attempts were made to ensure that individuals at similar levels were interviewed in all four institutions, though not always with success. This is partly because the institutions themselves, although linked in terms of their public commitment to international education, were differentiated in size, structure and status.

Certain fieldwork-related difficulties need to be acknowledged. Interviews invite an individualised and highly subjective recall of what are, after all, collective and interactive social processes. The starting point of an innovation can often be based upon vague feelings about the need

for change, and selective recall, partiality and (understandable) self-centredness may lead to distorted accounts of the formative stages of institutional commitment to international education. Nevertheless, by logging a number of interviews with key actors operating at different levels of the institutions concerned, a degree of cross-referencing was built in, aimed at the reduction of the most predictable distortions.

The emphasis on verbal testimony rather than extended periods of observation, together with the sometimes restricted use of institutional archives, resulted in an orientation that emphasises the views and perceptions of key actors over their actual practice and behaviour. This is permissible within the action frame of reference established for this part of the research project, (Gerth & Mills, 1948, 73; Ritzer, 1981, 77-80).

### Summary

Part One has linked the purpose of this chapter to the comparative and conceptual concerns of the thesis. It has established the reasons for the inclusion of a case study dimension to the investigation of differences in US and EC international education. The methodological basis of the fieldwork has also been explored. In Parts Two and Three material emerging from the fieldwork is presented.

## Part Two - U.K. Institutions

### *Section One: University Institution, London*

International education at this institution is viewed through the comments of the senior administrator, one of the international relations managers of the college acting as the ERASMUS liaison officer, and a faculty member involved in the departmental administration of a joint degree programme with a French university.

A major reason for choosing this university was its long-established joint-degree programme established with assistance from the Office for Cooperation in Education (OCE) in Brussels under the JSP scheme in 1977. The programme is now constituted as an ERASMUS ICP leading to the joint award of a British and French qualification to those students who successfully complete two years of study at each location. It is one of the oldest joint degree programmes offered by two EC higher education institutions and was, from the start, supported by EC funds.

#### *The View from the Top*

The stance taken by senior management on international education can be critical. The position adopted by the CEO and senior administration may fall into or across four possible categories - leadership (where it becomes a key issue), sponsorship (where resources and seed money are made available), support (where initiatives are encouraged), or indifference. In this instance, the respondent, the senior college administrator, appears to fall between the first two categories.

The International Division of the university was established in 1985, and at the time of the interview comprised

five people. International activities are divided into four areas. Reporting to the Vice-Principal for External Affairs are individuals responsible for Overseas Students, North America, Europe and Alumni. The Division emerged partly out of recognition that the university was receiving £4m per annum from overseas students by the late 1980s.

Answering a query on how the college administration might systematise the activities and enthusiasm of a few individuals and, more generally, how institutions are able to build on the motivations of a few individuals, the Principal suggested:

I believe an institution has to put into place a mechanism that makes it possible... to enhance the impact of those people. Putting that mechanism in place is the job of the institution, which is why I started with the structure of the International Group. There wasn't an International Division here four years ago; there were scattered individuals here and there, already doing a lot, but mainly doing other jobs. You have to consolidate such activities, to give such people a specific brief. Without that you're shooting in the dark. That group now has a strategy that they're pursuing (8).

International involvement was seen as normal:

you'd expect major institutions to have strong international orientations for research, exploratory and communications purposes. The proper position of a major higher education institution is to seek international connections and dimensions in a focused way... by encouraging institutional links based on research contacts. That's important... Presidents and Rectors come through here wanting to pair up with us, but the critical question is how suitable and at what level should the link be? It seems to work best on a departmental or research group basis.

The Departmental (i.e., discipline-based) connection was emphasised as the core element in the university's predominantly bilateral inter-institutional links:

we regularly discuss whether departmental links should be expanded. We seek the views of the Department Heads. You have to be careful to build on existing good relations.

In discussing the growth of British university-sector interest in international education, he suggested that, in part, (his emphasis), this stemmed from a financial perspective, "for many British universities the growth in interest in overseas connections has been motivated by sheer survival..." (9). However, having observed that "ERASMUS is not a moneyspinner, not at all", he went on to observe that closer educational links with Europe were not only desirable but inevitable on demographic grounds. The domestic supply of 18 year-olds was likely to decline, whereas in other European countries the demand for university places would still exceed supply. In other words, British higher education could meet some 'overspill' demand from other European countries. (See earlier discussion of this point in Chapter Four, Part Two, Section One). Another reason was based on a differentiated approach to international activities, in which the university could play different roles in N. America, Europe and the rest of the world (10).

Nevertheless, another significant element in the development of institutional policy on links with European universities was his acknowledgement of "the growing consciousness of Europe which I've been committed to for a long time and in which universities have a significant part to play," (11). He emphasised that some of his sympathies for international education arose from his personal experiences:

My own experience [of academic exchange and travel] tells me that in the academic world international contacts are normal... and the social relationships that follow on those contacts ensure that academia is, by nature, international. At that level, other than at the level of self-interest, there's a great incentive to be more international.

Personal experience was stressed as being an important

factor in commitment to international education. One of the reasons for selecting a member of the International Division was, "personal commitment to international education."

In assessing the impact of EC mobility schemes he believed:

ERASMUS has put so many things on the map. It has played a large part in giving universities a sense of their role in the development of a more integrated Europe. [The universities] take such things seriously - one of the four sections of the CVCP is an International Committee, and there our links with Europe, as well as the older links through the ACU, are growing in importance. And that's without any Government money - if the universities themselves are prepared to fork out for it, that gives it a pretty high priority in my view... And ERASMUS has made it possible for British students to go to France or Germany in large numbers without being language students - it's provided the same kind of travel opportunities that German students always had through DAAD schemes (12).

The degree to which the university had accommodated itself to the requirements of overseas client groups was seen as having created a series of internal repercussions of international education activity.

The [US study abroad institutions] gave our development of credit-bearing modular course units with grades an impetus...so we can now produce professional transcripts! We feel we're ahead of many other institutions here - others will follow in six or seven years. So that's another advantage of having always taken the demands of overseas users of our services seriously - that demand came from our North American connections, but it facilitates the European connection too of course - and the domestic student benefits too because we are better equipped to deal with the increasing number of part-time students who complete qualifications unit by unit (13).

Another internal impact of growing internationalism is the chance it brought for administrators to travel:

this opportunity, which didn't exist before, is good for them and good for us - they are less locked into their narrow institutional views, they see more, carry back ideas. Study tours, too, they help expand people's horizons and perceptions.

He believed that from the faculty perspective,



it's down to a few enthusiasts; they're the ones that spread the word. We try to enhance their influence through our institutional commitment to the links that we do have - exchanges are vital. Start with short exchanges, which are attractive, then go on to six months, one year ones - these are the most productive.

A final observation from the senior administrator reflects an awareness of the international dimension of competitiveness until recently seen in a more developed form in US institutions. Acknowledging the prominence of another London college well known for its long-established internationalism (14) he argued that in many ways it was his own institution, with its experience of *becoming* more international, that had more relevance to the higher education community (15).

#### The Operational Administrator

Further down the institutional hierarchy, two other respondents were interviewed. Both hold faculty positions, with the first having major coordinating and supervisory responsibilities relating to European Student Affairs and ERASMUS liaison across the College. The second has responsibilities for ERASMUS links at the Departmental level.

Comparing the ERASMUS links of his Department (the second to establish an ERASMUS Inter-University Cooperation Project, or ICP) with those of the original joint degree Department, the respondent emphasised that his area was more research driven. Research project contacts with fellow professionals in other European universities were cited as the main impetus for proposing student exchanges (16).

There were, in 1988, eight successful ERASMUS-supported ICPs and a Short Study Visit (SSV) with a Dutch university. The respondent suggested that the university's ICP applications would double in 1989 and would include more humanities

subjects and educational studies. Such successes would lead to the proliferation of bureaucratic procedures, "dealing with Brussels on the proposed projects, and Kent [the UK ERASMUS Clearing House] on student grants." However, this was an inevitable consequence of the increasing popularity of European student mobility.

Commenting on the increasing attraction of ERASMUS, he explained the growing popularity

partly through proselytising, partly through word of mouth, and partly because it seems to be getting trendy, and Departments want to get in on the act. I schedule meetings throughout the year with every Head of Department, and I tell them of the advantages. Judging from the increased number of queries - the word is getting round. We now emphasise the ERASMUS option in our Prospectus, and even target ERASMUS-oriented entrants through our Schools Liaison Group.

Value also lay in the recognition factor of ERASMUS, which was used to facilitate professional contacts and general networking. He noted increased student and faculty attendance at the general meetings he calls during the year for those interested in ERASMUS.

For a combination of idealistic and pragmatic reasons ERASMUS helps to attract interest. I think my sales pitch is basically attractive. I'm careful to leave Departments in control of numbers - I tell them that ERASMUS isn't a money-maker, and if you take in more students than you send out there's a deficit, but *faculty seem to welcome the links and opportunities...* Well, some do; there's a 50/50 split between those who think it's a ... good thing, and those who can't be bothered. Often those in the first category have actually talked to participating students and have become enthused as a result (emphasis added).

His motivation for becoming so actively involved in international education is part realist and part idealist. He cited his own involvement in collaborative research projects in science with colleagues at other European universities as a significant factor. Nearly all of his existing and most of

the intended ICPs in the science area are derived from research-based contacts in other institutions. However, he also commented,

look, I can see that living and studying in other EC countries does our students a world of good. If they're going to be adults in a more united Europe they should have the chance of developing an understanding of other traditions, of seeing how problems are tackled, how thinking on projects and research varies, and so on. It widens horizons - you can see it happening; we had a Spanish ERASMUS student here last year, now he's back to do a Ph.D., and who knows, he might get a job here too one day. That's what happens. You may say it's small potatoes, but it's working.

His assessment of the role being played by EC policies and agencies was that

their strategies are incremental, and are working well. The next step is more monitoring and more evaluation. The line responsibilities connected with their schemes are multiplying, and the College will soon have to make a decision on allocating resources to ERASMUS. The questions of equivalency and credits are high on the agenda now, but these will be difficult to resolve until we develop a more uniform cross-national education system. That's where ERASMUS is laying the groundwork. The process could be helped on its way by the Professional Institutes... of Chartered Engineers, Accountants, Biologists, and the like... agreeing equivalencies.

This respondent operates as one of those key individuals whose personal efforts are so critical to the success of student mobility and international education. As Goodwin & Nacht indicate, with reference to US institutions,

we were struck repeatedly by the importance of a charismatic leader in galvanizing a campus to focus on and undertake study abroad. (1988, p.60)

For a view of how international education commitments are perceived at the level of everyday programme administration, an interview was conducted with a Departmental administrator of a joint degree programme.

### The Departmental Administrator

This respondent took a less sanguine view of the rewards of international education, though remaining committed to it for personal reasons. The Department is associated with one of the oldest European joint degree schemes in existence. Looked at from an internal perspective, the respondent suggested, the history of Departmental involvement in international education was characterised as reflecting the concerns and priorities of individual personnel. The respondent had assumed responsibility for the programme relatively recently and had deliberately adopted a more open operational style. "After opening the whole thing up, I've begun to get positive responses from colleagues and Admissions."

What had been the justifications for the degree programme? The response was more down to earth than the documentation had indicated (17):

As far as I recall a senior professor had a friend at [...] and they [set it up] with no real infrastructure. And that really caused problems [...]. Many things that were promised, like faculty exchange, never happened.

Faculty reaction in the Department was characterised as follows:

The point is that the academic justifications are just not perceived. New colleagues tend to say 'how interesting to have foreign students.' I think the programme would have been chopped if it hadn't performed a valuable public relations and Admissions function as an attractive recruitment tool. When it became clear that it was raising our profile and it was a very marketable course it went up in people's estimation. Its costs became justifiable in terms of its value as a vehicle for prestige (18).

The respondent's interest in the programme had been occasioned because

I could see the good in it. Involvement on the scheme doesn't advance one's career and has no relation to

people's research interests - it's just perceived as an administrative chore. One could put someone in charge who had an interest in French or German [...] but such people haven't been asked, perhaps because they're usually here on a temporary contract. This kind of work is just not seen as complementary to an academic career. Individual faculty when asked whether they are willing to get involved usually say 'we'll think about it' and you never hear from them again. So why do I do it? I've a self-confessed idealistic orientation. The pastoral side is sometimes quite rewarding for anyone interested in international issues. ERASMUS doesn't pay for my time and the bureaucracy involved is enormous, but... (19).

Referring to the day to day exigencies and the extent to which ERASMUS made a difference, the respondent made the following observations:

My counterpart in [a French university] just keeps it ticking over. I go over to interview the French applicants every year... [but this is not reciprocated]. On the other hand [a German university] has invited our people over and has sent people here. There's a very functional fit between [the French institution and this university] but there's nothing dynamic about it. The German connection seems to show greater spin-off potential; there was quite a strong feeling that a Spanish strand would dissipate limited resources, and again the refrain came up - "we're a UK [...] Faculty!" (20)

ERASMUS Action One funds cover travel and some incidental costs. Without this "faculty funds would not be made available for travel" (21). Beyond that, however:

the entire administrative burden rests on me - nobody else is involved. I staple the ERASMUS grant cheque to the form; I literally do it all. The liaising with Kent. The whole thing is entirely individually based; we all end up licking our own envelopes.

This interview showed the contrasts inherent in the practice of international education. Not only are the daily costs and benefits illuminated, but these observations contrast with those of people higher up the institutional hierarchy. There is also a difference of emphasis between the accessible internal documentation and comments focused on operational experience. The respondent's emphasis on the

adjustment problems faced by students seem to inhabit a different world from the abstract Faculty document on the Aims of the Joint Degree (22).

The Department's response to internationalisation as illustrated by the respondent's observations and the available documentation reveals a superficial degree of involvement on the part of most faculty. Initial concerns over the details of the joint degree gave way to a warm accolade for the "revolutionary new degree" (UKUDOC 6), but it is clear that most faculty were content to leave the routine work to someone else. Moreover, the minutes of Faculty Meetings record many intentions, hopes and plans regarding the expansion or better resourcing of the joint degree which have apparently never been acted upon. Lost initiatives include a more active pursuit of faculty exchange, and a new full-time post related to the joint degree (23).

However, the existence of the joint degree, and the prospect of teaching European students were cited by a newly-appointed Lecturer as being among the factors that determined his move from another English university to this one:

the "Euro-factor" was a positive incentive for me; [old university] was so slow in getting links set up, and [...] has a reputation as an enthusiastic participant in exchanges. To me that offers the opportunity to develop the links with European civil organisations and universities that we must have.

Although this university cannot be seen as thoroughly energised by international education, institutional commitment goes back several years, and administrative and management structures are now beginning to coordinate and manage international liaison. With the basic administrative unit established and operating under the Vice-Principal for Exter-

nal Affairs further initiatives are expected, and the college is seeking to benefit from a range of institutional advantages deriving from its international connections.

## *Section Two: The Polytechnic*

Like the university, the polytechnic established close links with European institutions in the form of a joint degree soon after the UK entered the Common Market. By the mid-1980s, it was building on its established reputation as an institution with a strong commitment to international education. An energetic approach is taken to a diverse range of international education initiatives. A clearly proactive approach characterised the position taken by the first respondent, the senior administrator, in his interview.

### *Proactive Institutional Leadership in International Education*

The respondent, with direct experience of international education through his own doctoral training in the US, was forthright in his self-perception as one of the driving forces behind the internationalisation of the Polytechnic. He took a very active approach to institutional innovation in this field.

What had occasioned the joint degree initiative, even before the publication of the Masclet Report or the 1976 Community EAP?

About 1974 I could see there was to be a development in Europe which would inevitably become much bigger than was understood at the time, and I therefore thought that people destined for the professions, industry, commerce, would need to have a European profile in their higher education... The logical step was to build a *structured involvement* with European institutions through a degree. (his emphasis), (24).

He pointed to the multifaceted results of his active pursuit of international links. In his view international education served as a catalyst for programme innovation and enhanced institutional status:

I adopted a very high profile view of international education, and started a series of initiatives asso-



ciated with it. The success of these initiatives was infectious: we didn't know what we had started - we just forged ahead and started doing other things. We developed a comprehensive modular degree scheme partly aimed at the American market, adopting unit-based courses along classic American lines; that was another of our innovations... you know, our joint degree was the basis on which the ERASMUS scheme was formed. All sorts of things come together because once you're known for your international connections, all sorts of other people and things come to you.

On the question of organisational structures being developed to handle the increased volume of international education business, the response was:

when you're in this field there's nothing as effective as serendipity. Stick with the ad hoc... enthusiasm is vital to this field, and if you try and institutionalise, set up offices, etc., the pay off isn't as good as waiting for odd people through their own initiative to seek us out. However, I have to say that there is now a move towards setting up a system not so much for new developments as to handle the vast range that we already have. There's been criticism that we should have set this up earlier because now we have so many links (25).

In contrast to the selective approach to bilateral arrangements evident at the university, the polytechnic seemed open to a wide range of contacts. The Corporate Development Plan envisages nine joint degree programmes, 28 European student exchange links, 14 student and staff exchanges in Europe, as well as study abroad inputs from a total of 37 US universities and colleges (UKPDOG 1, 9 - 22). Such range and volume should not obscure the selectivity that is deployed, because for the polytechnic the issue of matching itself with suitable institutions abroad is an important one. Elective affinity means that it has generally been the non-university sector institutions that have been most responsive:

....we [polys and their equivalents] are just more innovative. We looked round at the French univer-

sities [in 1974-5], but they didn't seem appropriate or responsive to our kind of thinking. The 'écoles supérieures' approach is closer to ours. It was the same in Germany, again the universities weren't particularly useful, but the Fachhochschulen were. The universities are very protected and don't see why they have to put themselves out for anything. They're complacent... quite happy to get into an arrangement which revolves round a year's visit, but as soon as you want an integrated programme which requires a modified approach to their examining, monitoring and control procedures, they lose interest (26).

EC policies and programmes were judged to be useful props to the institutional activities already successfully fostered;

the Action One (ICP) is useful, and in my view more important than the Action Two (student exchange), but it doesn't cover true costs. The student exchange part is a real loser - we do all the administration and get nothing for it. You have a choice - you either turn a blind eye to all the complicated, detailed procedures and costs attendant on student exchange, or you do it properly and bear the costs yourself. On the other hand, faculty benefit from the travel grants, though after a while trips to [provincial towns in France and Germany] become routine.

Given such minimal financial benefits, why should institutional resources be committed to such activities?

Polys set out to offer courses and research programmes at all levels relevant to the likely areas of work of our students. [With the Single Market coming up] it makes little sense to have our students trained to operate in only one area of Europe. We have to have students coming out of this sector who will be prepared for that market, and I don't think that the one year abroad, non-assessed, non-integrated programme will produce the sort of people you want. Addressing that problem is a vital function of the polys. Secondly, if we can do something really well then it's going to attract students whose first port of call would normally be universities, so that's also in our interest. Thirdly, you can't get and keep good staff if you only offer what everyone else is offering. Faculty gain tremendously, subjectively and objectively, by working in and with another country. Nearly 30% of our faculty spend some of the year travelling in some other country in association with Poly work. Their enthusiasm captures the imagination of other staff... they see the plusses... this attracts good people, brings out the best in them. They can become consultants on the basis of

such experiences

This senior administrator saw himself as a gladiator, a highly motivated innovator who used international education as a means to galvanise the human resources of his institution to work towards the upgrading of its reputation and status (27). To what extent were such upbeat and proactive views echoed by the Course Head of the original joint degree?

#### The Course Administrator

This respondent had been Course Head of the first of the polytechnic's joint degrees, for a period of three years. His perspective differed from that of the first respondent in its emphasis both on the grass roots origins of innovation in international education, and on the difficulties of stretching human resources to cover the consequences of innovation: "this was very much a grass roots affair, a bottom-up phenomenon based on individual initiatives in the early- to mid-'70s." He believed that the combination of internationalist rhetoric with a lack of necessary additional resources led to a discrepancy between the value of the activity to the institution and the protection the department received in times of retrenchment:

there's a universalisation of benefits to the institution, and a universalisation of suffering too when it comes to cuts. They should protect key programmes like this.

His assessment of costs and benefits was direct and sober. Among the reasons for his response must be the sheer size of the programme which now encompasses four institutions and has 1300 students enrolled at any one time (28). Another factor is the longevity of the programme itself. At

the time of interview it was in its fourteenth year, and over this period procedures had been established and were protected "as though they were the Crown Jewels." The respondent was clearly at odds with some of these procedures, and felt frustrated at having his attempts to tackle things afresh balked. This suggests that the local, organisational facts of life, and the life-cycle of the programme itself, exert considerable influence on the politics of international education (29).

What had been the impact of ERASMUS on his activities?

It's like a Siamese white elephant.. a nightmare, because there's never enough funds and you have to make decisions about who gets what, except that there's a mountain of received wisdom on this (another of the Crown Jewels). We need to rethink our traditional allocations... This isn't the fault of ERASMUS, it's an internal matter. But then again, ERASMUS isn't the mechanism it once was. There was a time when you said 'anyone up for a Board of Examiners Meeting in Madrid, or Reims?' and you'd be fighting them off. Now you just get a yawn - who wants to spend half the day at the airport when there's more than enough to do here?

But it was very important to have received ICP (Action 1) money at the stage we did, because it helped the thing take off. The diminution of these funds [he had been notified by the ERASMUS Bureau two days earlier that their Action 1 allocation would be reduced] will affect our physical attendance at conferences, the movement of faculty between participating institutions...

Responding to queries on the professional development and growth of specialised experience that involvement with the programme had brought over the years, he identified several constraints:

there's never enough time and opportunity to capitalise on our work; running the programme is more than a full-time task, there's no opportunity for research or writing. If you look at the [faculty involved in the programme] we've never published anything on our experience of the programme - one of the reasons is that it has affected our courses less than outsiders seem to assume. Remember, in our section it's our job to teach French, German and Spanish students *British*

[subject matter]. We can't exactly say that our curriculum has been revolutionised with a uniquely European perspective. Joint research projects with our partner institutions aren't very high priority either, in fact they're never specifically on the agenda. We had two colloquia in the last twelve months, but that's after years of running the programme, and they were hosted by [...] which has an emphasis on publication. Don't forget, with business faculty there's more emphasis on guaranteed time for consultancy to boost their earnings than on research and writing.

Given the generally problematic picture that had been painted, it seemed appropriate to ask the respondent to identify the factors that kept the programme running and ensured his continued activity as an international educator:

firstly, the students, they keep coming so we're obviously successfully meeting a demand. Then historically it's been fun and that's engendered enthusiasm and commitment. In a whole series of ways - a multinational student body to teach, with different reactions... it's stimulating. For a long time it enhanced job satisfaction, though it's no secret that what was novel and refreshing to us all 7 or 8 years ago is now becoming routine. What kept us going, and still does, is that unlike a lot of programmes we have a real identity. That identity is partly generated because we work together, socialise together, travel together and stay in the same hotels for extended periods together. Another reason is that in Years 1 and 3 we all (students and faculty) go on a 4 day field course together to build a programme identity.

It might well be that the timing of the interview (two days after ERASMUS Action 1 funds for the ICP had been cut) contributed to this administrator's rather embattled view of "life at the cutting edge of European international education," but this was a graphic illustration of the difficulties created by juggling the internal realities of the institution and the opportunities and constraints emanating from external sources (30).

#### Other Departmental Perspectives

Two people with established credentials in ERASMUS-

supported ICPs were interviewed in another Faculty of the polytechnic. The first had recently changed his job to Europe Coordinator for the Faculty, and was now able to take a wider view than that related to managing a single ICP

(31). He saw the ERASMUS scheme as largely symbolic:

ERASMUS is fine as a political gesture - we must have it but as a real facilitator it has its severe limitations. With Brussels you have to apply months and months in advance, and you can't plan like that. We'd prefer to say in a month's time we need to go there and have them respond. It's not a receptive funding system, it's very, very bureaucratic. TEMPUS looks to be much faster; the mobility element is lower, and it's a better scheme.

He was prepared to acknowledge that ERASMUS funding had been critically important in stimulating and mobilising faculty interest and involvement in the early stages:

*originally* the main benefit of the funds is to allow staff to move around and look at other institutions... So staff who don't usually travel like this see that other institutions do things differently. I've been thinking about using some COMETT links this year to make a greater impact on our 'deprived' areas of faculty. Our colleagues in [...] are less entrepreneurial than we are in [...], so they are a priority for some proactive externally funded opportunities!

He described one of the main advantages of EC schemes as the cementing of closer social bonds between him and his opposite numbers in various linked institutions:

I can ring these people up easily, I know them and their colleagues, their families. It makes things easier and less formal. We get work done quicker.

His views on the part played by undergraduate student mobility were unvarnished:

to us it's a pain in the neck. I see it as a means to an end. You have to whip up interest over here, and when the [...] come over their success rate isn't brilliant. But you start with that and try and build towards projects that come out of the institutional link and attract students [cites new joint project as an example]. We're looking to be doing more than moving a few students and faculty, we're developing

pan-European degrees now with institutions in [three Member States]..

The second respondent from this Faculty contributed some rather different perspectives to the subject by virtue of his involvement with courses that had a large proportion of sandwich enrollments. This meant that his students had less time flexibility and were more closely tied to industry. The original ERASMUS-supported exchange scheme with a French institution had been relatively unpopular, but dissatisfaction had led to changes all round, and a much improved programme model had now been tested (32). The response, both from students on the course - "all of my Year Two students wanted to go," and from the employ-ers, was enthusiastic.

He saw EC funding as critically important in allowing the process of inter-institutional cooperation to get off the ground even if, as in his own experience, the initial student exchange results were disappointing:

there's a lot of ERASMUS funded faculty travel between [...] and here for teaching and planning. The old scheme had too many things tagged on, but we're now getting more integrated schemes through a lot of meetings on both sites. The travel's a sort of incentive, but there's a lot more people giving papers than there used to be because of the association with other institutions; it's stimulated things round here. I'd be surprised if anything would have happened without some Eurocash to push it all along.

His most interesting observations concerned the three factors that he suggested would continue to fuel engineers' interest in international education activity:

with the coming of 1992 everyone thought we really ought to be in on this, we don't want to be left behind, or have too far to catch up, so if we get an idea of how things work over there then it's to our advantage. I think that's what really gets people - for example, [...] has marvellous laser technology that we haven't got, and we've got things they haven't. That's the crux of it - they gain insights

and come back saying 'they do x over there, why don't we do it here?'

We also work closely with industry who see things in European terms and think it only right and proper that this is reflected at the training level. They're delighted with our developing European links for courses and placements. And then there's the real problem for engineers in this country - the image problem, and I think by association with European engineering where the image is much higher, we've got a lot to gain just by association. Our concern for our students is that they should be well-equipped to go into Europe, to get better money and higher status. European connections address all these issues to some extent (33).

### The Newly Converted

Elsewhere in the polytechnic, another Faculty found itself at an earlier stage in ERASMUS-based programme development than the respondents covered above. In this Faculty the Dean and his recently-appointed Europe Coordinator displayed a particularly positive approach to the prospect of more international education. The Faculty's six Schools already enjoy a wide spectrum of European contacts, though these are mainly based on professional connections rather than on funded schemes. At the time of interview, both respondents were in the throes of a last-minute TEMPUS application, learning the ropes as they proceeded. Their previous rather limited experience of European funding had been through the CITE programme and a COMETT Strand B link (34).

As with other respondents at the polytechnic, they commented on the strength of the top-down message to develop international links, but they were also eager to proceed in this direction for their own reasons. They produced a portfolio of justifications, laid out with great enthusiasm; six discrete categories were identifiable:

we've always wanted to see ourselves not just as a



national centre but as an international centre too, so it makes sense to broaden our contacts... About 14% of our graduates get jobs in Europe already, and this would enhance their educational experiences and connections. We are unashamedly vocational, so Europe is an attraction in the job dimension as well as academically... Staff want it too; there's a whole different dimension between earlier modes of staff travel - taking students to [...] - and travelling on behalf of the Poly, forging serious academic links. It's a whole different definition of oneself and what one is doing - from school trips to changing the patterns of European education... The European angle will enable us to develop new [mainly postgraduate] courses for which PCFC funding is unavailable. In that sense TEMPUS, COMETT and ERASMUS dovetail into the general search for external funding from business and other sources... Having rather missed the boat on ERASMUS, we'd like to be the first Poly Faculty to be in TEMPUS... Europe is livening things up a bit especially in staff development terms. New posts are hard to come by, so this Europe thing is one of the elements bringing in a dynamic element. I get a better response now when I mention Europe - not just head down but real interest partly because of the trips and the money possibilities. but also because it represents change and new possibilities (35).

These reasons for initiating and pursuing links with European institutions appeared convincing enough from a management perspective, but how were they planning to stimulate demand once the links were in place? One step that had already been taken was the appointment of a Europe Coordinator, (see footnote 25), to disseminate information to students and faculty and manage the demand (36). He had also whetted potential faculty interest by emphasising that the TEMPUS application included 20,000 Ecu for publication projects, and that [a well-known British university press] was showing interest in a book on East European Art and Design that various members of the faculty would be able to contribute toward.

That point is crucial to why it will work; in [this discipline] there's a great interest in, and intellectual respect for, the work carried out in overseas

institutions. Colleagues see this as an enormous enrichment programatically and professional advancement for themselves (37).

The final point of interest to come from this interview was the global-local dimension (38):

It seems that - at least in [the subject area] - the polys are supposed to serve their local community. I don't think this faculty see themselves limited to the universe of [local London borough] only - [we] want to have an international reputation. These EC funded schemes allow us, while in no way minimising our connection with the local community, to develop an international dimension.

Overall, the polytechnic appears suffused with international education and Euro-orientation to a greater extent than the university. The interviews reflect a variety of responses to this institutional ethos. Those that have managed European links for some time make less use of idealist rhetoric and are more concerned with operational difficulties, while still committed to the underlying values of the scheme. The neophytes, conscious of being driven both by top-down and bottom-up pressures, internal and external incentives, look forward with enthusiasm to the advantages that European connections will bestow, without too much concern for the pastoral and infrastructural demands that success will bring.

### Part Three - U.S. Institutions

#### Section One - Four-year State College

The salient factor in the choice of this college was its receipt in 1986 of a very large three year State Grant to promote the internationalisation of the institution (39). Closest to the British polytechnic in terms of placing international at the core of its mission, and using that designation to attract interest and status enhancement - "[...] will be the choice college for a global education," (President) - the college made use of this grant-assisted injection of 'international' to galvanise a freewheeling academic community into a significant and sustained period of innovative activity.

A good impression of the scope and objectives of the internationalisation process at the college is given by the senior academic administrator:

a year ago at a conference when I was describing our project, a guy at the back of the hall said 'look, all I've heard so far is rehashed 1960s international education - so you're going to have a major in East Asian Studies, in Latin America, in this and that - people have been doing that for years. What do you have that's different?' He had a point. If international education was nothing more than a precious little program for a handful of students, it wouldn't be worth the fuss and bother. But if the full institution is serious - if Biology & Environmental Studies plans to go to take their students for field study to the Costa Rican rainforest, if Botany goes to Jamaica, Law & Society goes to Barbados (because it combines Napoleonic and common law codes), if we have an International Accounting class that invites students to consider different value systems, and so on, right across the board, then we're obliging our students to think differently. (his emphasis) (40).

In June 1989 (the point at which the fieldwork was undertaken) the time dimension was of critical importance. This was the moment of transition between two eras. During the Grant era the financing of the project was guaranteed and

the project's powerhouse and administrative direction during this period lay with the Grant Office (GO), essentially run by the two authors of the Grant Proposal.

These assumptions were being eroded by the arrival of the post-Grant era, where soft money would be in shorter supply. The institution will have to normalise and routinise the processes initiated earlier, and must find a mechanism by which the process may continue. The new coordinating body will be the Center for International Education (CIE). Between 1986 and 1989 a vast experiment in internationalising an institution from top to bottom was conducted. Two challenges resulted from this. Firstly, that of thoroughly *permeating* the institution with diffuse international perspectives, and subsequently that of *institutionalising* the initiatives developed out of the Grant ferment. The college community was at the transition point between the two.

Two aspects of the college's experience of international education merit initial comment, since they influence the selection of accounts and opinions cited. First, the student mobility (study abroad) *form* of international education appears less prominent than the internationalisation of the institutional curricular and programme *orientation*. It is hoped that the study abroad form will follow from the thorough institutionalisation of internationalism in a more diffuse sense (41).

A second dimension concerns the salience of the State Governor issue. The College receives the bulk of its annual budget from the State, and changes in state politics have rapid fiscal consequences. It pays the college to be on the

same wavelength as the Governor, but this entails the ability to be flexible in curricular orientation. The incumbent in the mid-1980s was in favour of international education because he was conscious of foreign investment in the State and overseas sales potential, and he placed these among his political priorities (42). However, a number of respondents suggested that the incoming Governor had chosen a new issue - the environment - perhaps accounting for the frequency with which this topic kept cropping up in interviews. As one respondent observed: "Why would a new Governor want to replicate what his predecessor had already put on the map?"

For the President, the lesson was plain:

Every institution's got to have a plan of action to make sure its particular programmes are funded, and that takes various different approaches. International and multicultural education is a theme that has lasting power, and it's a theme that embraces everything - the environment for instance.....

#### Prestige and Politics in International Education

The President echoed his polytechnic counterpart in claiming to have perceived the scattered potential for international education within his institution, designating 'international' as a key element in strategies for institutional growth. He was prepared to give the 'internationalists' encouragement and support (43).

I actually suggested the "international" be featured a year before it was... part of my rationale was to find something that could be unifying, pervasive and inclusive. The Trustees were frustrated with the lack of focus (that's the trouble with interdisciplinary.. a lot of people don't know what it means), as well as falling enrollments and so I thought about what could be developed into a thematic, strategic vision.

The State Board of Higher Education was one of the main external sources of support for the internationalisation process, suggesting that the theme would garner support from

the highest level, given the views of the State Governor. External support also came directly from the institution's cultivation of the multinationals moving to new headquarters close to the campus:

Sony, Matsushita have given us money to teach Japanese, and offer classes to their US employees. The links we are building will help create opportunities for students [work placements] and faculty [consultancies] as well as providing funding for certain programmes. And their managers have come to us as Visiting Lecturers.

He believed that if the corporate sector and politicians supported international education activities, they did so for their own reasons, and these were not directly related to the plethora of reports that had been published by the international education lobby:

corporations aren't really aware of or influenced by those kind of reports as far as I can tell. [The Governor] says a lot of these reports are just educators talking to educators. There's a difference in the way educators and others think. When Governor Baliles (Virginia) spoke at the NGA (National Governors Association) recently he talked about geography, foreign languages, the need for people to be knowledgeable about others, but he didn't mention international education once. Nor do the executives and legislators I deal with. To some extent I think that educators activities get in their own way - take our involvement with CAFILIS (Coalition for Action on Foreign Languages and International Studies) - it's just a lot of activity involving more than 100 organizations talking to one another - it's too large to have any effective impact.

He went further, arguing that rather than pushing for more Federal funding, the international education lobby ought to appreciate the diversity of funding and support sources:

I think the diversity and variety of funding sources is a virtue, not a problem. With a Government prone to cutting here, cutting there, it's better to have a variety of places to go. Maintaining relations with a variety of players, that's all right, that's not inefficient (44).

Nevertheless, he stressed the particular utility of close links with the State Governors, arguing that policies on international education that were adopted by the NGA would have more political impact over the long term than any Presidential Commissions or Task Forces, for the simple reason that "Presidents change, then where's the Report?"

the Governors change too, but the NGA office ensures continuity. Don't forget, Governors Reports are written by them, President's Reports are written to or for him - there's a difference... The Governor is where the ideas and the money for education and economic development come together, that's where they functionally relate. (his emphasis)

Returning again to the theme of flexibility, he indicated how the college was preparing for the post-Grant world. When the soft money ran out the institution would need to rationalise and prune judiciously. It would also need to stretch the definition of international in order to have a bigger impact on the immediate environment of the college:

I still don't think we do enough on the multicultural aspect... I insisted a long time ago on that pairing between the international and the multicultural because I think when an American says 'international' he thinks about everything 'over there', but when you say 'multicultural' he realizes it's a domestic, neighborhood issue.

Apart from active pursuit of NDEA Title VI and NEA Title III grants, the other shock absorber for the post-Grant era would come from the college's much enhanced public profile. US higher education is competitive and many institutions seek attention and status as 'lighthouse' examples of model programmes (45). The strategy to put the college on the map nationwide appears to have been successful within the professional international education field itself: it has been

listed as one of the four "major experimentations in restructuring the curriculum...in the pursuit of quality international education." The college also receives plaudits from other, more commercial sources (46). These fit alongside more local affirmations:

in high schools within a 20-mile radius we found that our international profile was a salient characteristic among both guidance counsellors and students. Associate the college with a theme! I think it's important for the college to be known, period. And I think that because of our distinctive features and our commitment we're getting known.

Due to its enhanced reputation, the college has been approached by a nearby well-known university proposing collaboration on a jointly-taught MBA in International Business and an MA in Liberal Studies with an international emphasis. Both would draw on the college's international expertise as well as on the interactive telecommunications technology put into place through the Grant (see footnote 48, below).

#### The Administrative Unit

For three years, two people in particular were associated with the Grant. Both had a background in International Studies, and both had been appointed as Project Directors. With the Grant period coming to a close, their role was diminishing and new structures and new personnel were becoming more prominent in ensuring the continuity and routinisation of the internationalisation process.

The senior academic administrator as well as the Director of the new Center for Intercultural Education (who had himself held the post of V-P Academic Affairs for eleven years), focused on the difficulties of transition exacerbated by the failure of improved State base line funding for the new stance of the College to materialise. In fact, the CIE



Director who had been promised an annual budget of \$100,000 for the first year of operations had just been told that the best he could hope for was \$40,000. How would he cope?

Well, we've been letting 1000 flowers bloom; now it's time we did some weeding and consolidation. The orientations of faculty are now clearer than they were, so we can consolidate, but there's still too broad a range of options on offer.

Redoubled efforts to secure federal soft grants were being made, and it appeared that the CIE might receive \$30,000 under NDEA Title VI for faculty in-service training in Latin America and East Asian Studies, as well as \$500,000 under NEA Title III for expanded activities in Latin American, East Asian and African Studies. In addition they were hoping for a State H.E. Grant of \$250,000 to support European Studies. This raised the question of how the choice of Area Studies was determined.

It's a combination of internal and external factors. There's faculty interests, administration's obsessions, and one's enrollment population. Our Italian programs wouldn't be anywhere without that huge Italian-American population right on our doorstep. There's a rising percentage of Asians and Hispanics too, so you'd expect a curriculum response. Then there's the other side - you go where the money is if you can (47).

The way that CIE would play its pruning role would be by developing an advisory role vis à vis the Vice-President on curriculum and faculty development and resource issues. CIE is guided by a Faculty Advisory Council which is composed of elected members of each School:

they will develop guidelines and policies, so that we can become more coherent. In future, when a proposal comes up it can be assessed according to criteria laid down by CIE and the Council. I want an a priori policy that states the grounds on which we'll develop a new program. (senior academic administrator)

I absolutely see the CIE and the Advisory Council as

the place where difficult decisions on policy will be made. The last three years have been hectic, and much good has come out of them, but we can't be doing everything that everybody wants. The internationalization process has to be better *managed* now. (CIE Director)

The college appears to be setting up a clearly defined Administrative Unit that has policymaking functions as well as administrative duties. The CIE will be responsible for continuing a series of initiatives first associated with the CGP - for example, the annual Master Lecture series, coordination of curriculum and teaching with the International Telecommunications Center (48).

If it came to difficult decisions on budgets for international programmes and developments that CIE endorsed and the V-PAA could not easily resource, how would decisions be made?

a blend of mission and reality, pragmatism and value, and strategy too. After all, you look at what you're building, where the foundations lie, and you've got your priorities. Right now two structural conditions for future success with international education here are more and better foreign language instruction, and a well-resourced International Telecommunications Center. Without those two elements in place, how are you going to teach international anything? If I know what the priorities are, it's easier for me to go out and try and get additional private funds too.

Again, the issue of the local business community came up, echoing the theme previously highlighted not only here but in certain Faculties at the polytechnic. These colleges have a strong local orientation, but in the US case the local was seized upon with alacrity as another means to the international end. Not only was this clear through the deliberate injection of the *multicultural* element into international, but in a much more literal sense of the local, the senior academic administrator was putting the finishing touches to

an arrangement with a British provincial university:

both of us have [a British car manufacturer] as near neighbors so we're looking to a four-cornered game here, a sort of corporate - college international coop where British students will come here for academic credits while they're getting work experience with [the US subsidiary], and our students will get work experience with [...] in [...] and will get the academic component from [...] university.

On balance, this respondent was optimistic about the transitional period now dawning. The two major concerns of the GO all the way through, he suggested, had been the institutionalising of the Grant initiatives, and ensuring that they pervaded the whole institution. He had seen evidence that both were being met:

CIE is already successfully raising soft money; it's more professional and more successful at this than the Grant Office ever was. I've been really impressed with the way faculty have worked together with [...] for the Title III and VI grants... it's a transfer of focus from CGO to CIE, and they're rallying round the new structure to realise our hopes and aspirations.

There were a few cynics among the faculty, folks who said last year's buzzword was interdisciplinary, this year's is international, what's next? But the impact of the Grant on the five Schools was incredible. They've all - even the initial footdraggers - shed their parochialism, energized their curriculum and teaching, and really shaken things up. Our perception of ourselves has fundamentally altered, and that's changed public and community perceptions of us - for the better (49).

#### The Departmental Perspective

The Dean of the School of Business and Coordinator of the Professional Development Seminar (PDS) during the Grant period suggested that the Business School had foreshadowed the institutional orientation with two small grants from the State Department of H.E in the early 1980s for the purposes of developing a minor in international business. "The college caught up with us." For him, the origins of the imperative to

internationalise the business curriculum came from the outside:

the AACSB have argued for quite a while that business education should be more international. Then since the early '80s there's been an invasion of foreign corporations within a 10-mile radius of the college, and we contacted them early on regarding internships, both here and overseas. And we have an Advisory Board of about 10 prominent local businesspeople who pretty much urged us to expand languages in the regular program, though they tend also to stress the continuation of professional preparation in given fields of expertise.

From his perspective as PDS Coordinator he commented on the proliferation problems that other respondents had also mentioned.

You have to remember that there are always faculty pressure groups for this or that, even without the Grant. But I think that some initiatives... and especially the language thing, because that involved the creation of new faculty posts and therefore long-term institutional commitment, they're lasting benefits. Also the way in which the campus has been "wired" - even if some other aspects are wound down. We've moved from the position of encouraging all manner of initiatives and spinoffs to one where we're not quite sure what to do with it all. The next step is to get some more control and management into the system.

In assessing the benefits of the last three years of intense activity, he was most animated at the prospect of the proposed MBA link-up with the nearby university.

We'll get kudos from being associated with [...]. I don't think any other university MBA program in this state has standards like [...]. This arrangement has all the advantages of us associating with an established, high quality, nationally recognised institution with a minimal resource impact on us. And with this becoming a satellite area of NYC, the MBA market out here is really growing.

Though discipline-based and professional perspectives on the internationalisation process evoked the most enthusiastic response, these were balanced with a measured appraisal of the internationalisation process as a whole:

I'm not quite sure that what we ended up with is quite what they had in mind, but there's this ferment going on and it's the centerpiece of conversation nearly all the time. After nearly 20 years here [he joined the College at its inception in 1971], I think it's the best thing to have happened, and we now have a common basis on which to build the College for the year 2000.

## *Section Two - State University*

The selection of this state university was due to two factors. First, as the home campus of X, one of the prime activists and proponents of international education in the US over the past two decades, it has become the test bed for campus-level international education strategies (50).

Secondly, a considerable amount of accessible material has been published on and by the international administrative unit at the university. This institution provides a clear example of the action frame of reference whereby the activity of an individual with a developmental strategy can re-orient and transform an organisational agenda.

The International Office and its Director (X) have considerable influence over the entire range of international activities and the shape and orientation of university international education policy. This illustrates, more clearly than in any other case study institution, the role of the administrative unit in the institutional dynamics of international education. Not only has the international dimension been long-established here, (since 1968), but it is closely associated with X's strategy on institutional arrangements and the consequent activities of the international office. Because of this the analysis of international education at [...] is virtually coterminous with an investigation of the role of this unit and how that role is perceived both by members of the unit and those in the Schools effected by it.

International education came into focus at [...] through the President's response to a report presented by X in 1968 (51). X's Assistant, also responsible for Program Development,

observed that:

[X] came in at the beginning as a strong leader, starting with a mandate for an ideal plan which is far different from other universities where local actors evolved programs. (emphasis added) (52)

In 1987, after nearly twenty years of operation, the work of the international office was subjected to new report (53). This represented an opportunity, since X's aim at that time was to catalyse international activities on campus, if necessary by having an international education objective

inserted at the heart of the University's mission statement. In the event, the Report was well received and detailed an impressive range of activities and outcomes, while identifying an agenda for future development. Though it did not in fact lead to an alteration of the institutional mission statement, it was followed in 1988 by X's appointment to Associate Provost level, enabling a more effective promotion of the international agenda.

The focus on X's leadership capabilities and successes was consistent in both the Report and the series of interviews conducted at [...]. Thus X's strategy for the internationalisation of [...] is the concern of the next section, along with reactions to the role that the unit seeks to establish for itself.

#### X's Strategy: Impact and Response

Throughout his career, X has showed remarkable consistency in emphasising his belief that undergraduate student mobility, and exchange within the context of immersion into the host culture's regular programmes and institutions (i.e., no ghetto programmes with Resident Directors), will stimulate the demand and lead to more faculty exchanges and closer

inter-institutional cooperation. He has remained faithful to this strategy in his advocacy activity both on and off campus.

X's influence here in leadership has in large measure shaped, or at least was a catalyst in the internationalisation of the university... he has built important alliances and has created an enormous amount of goodwill.

The objectives (to raise undergraduate study abroad levels at [...]) are to be attained by developing 'international people' as advocates, and establishing an internally influential 'international bureaucracy':

those people identified as 'international', or in the programs designated international are only a small part of internationalisation, but a strategic part. X seemed to win favour with a parade of Chancellors and Provosts and always seemed to get them on his side - even those that came in neutral or hostile were converted by him, often with a tour abroad - letting them see the territory for themselves. Educating one's masters has always been part of X's strategy.

Recognising the weakness that comes from an over-reliance on well-intentioned statements coming from the higher reaches of institutional life, X is perceived as a coalition builder at every level of activity and decisionmaking:

he developed [two committees] (54), selecting people very carefully for these committees, judging the heavyweights, the people that need to be won over. Faculty who will act entrepreneurially to enhance their love of, say, Britain or Japan are rewarded. If they develop opportunities X encourages and rewards their initiative even when the higher ups have been lukewarm.

The Report recommended (USUDOC 1, 4) that the international office be given even greater authority to coordinate the university's international agenda. Although the unit's position was not formally upgraded, it does now enjoy greater influence,

not for the reasons that are most apparent, like a document that recommends that this should be the



case, or a change in the organization chart. Instead, X was promoted Associate Provost and that gave him direct access to a higher council. His voice and ears are involved at the highest level... he has the ability to set agendas, to be seen and heard.

When questioned about this, X's response was to turn the spotlight away from his internal activities:

I'm pragmatic about the work of the international office and have no major goals or grandiose plans, though I would like to raise the study abroad levels to between 10% and 20%. I have a lot of involvements outside the office because they are ultimately very useful to our internal agenda.

Although differing opinions exist on the strategies of the unit, there appears generally to be a pragmatic acceptance on campus that they do indeed fulfil a number of essential as well as practical functions. A closer examination of how unit personnel see their modus operandi is instructive, as are responses from the users of their services.

The normal process by which the office becomes involved in the support and development of study abroad projects was described in the following way by a staff member:

We get wind of international programme ideas in the various Departments, then [one of us] usually goes for a meeting with the Departmental movers and shakers. Where they have strong faculty involved there's less for us to do, where not we can often help. We have a sense of the overview - what the resources are on campus and how to get the best out of them. We know what the agenda is, the mechanics of study abroad. We proselytize - we're here to convert the heathen. We have a certain amount of functional expertise to offer. We can package and repackage study abroad programmes for Departments. With almost 60 SAPs (Study Abroad Programmes) running we can say which of these would you like to emulate? So we do their homework for them, we do their evaluations for them, *we have something to sell internally.* (his emphasis)

X's Assistant outlined the basic response adopted once an approach has been made either from within or outside the university:

we attempt to match academics on a discipline basis. Then we move to a memorandum of understanding between Heads of Schools, after which it goes to the VCs.

The Dean of the School of Education observed:

X's crew do a good job on matchmaking. Then he steps in to move it forward smoothing the road to Trustees level. He used to have more funds available to top up salaries. Although this pot of money is reduced, he has patronage, and can still send faculty to foreign campuses. X has a committee structure set up so that every project goes through it (IFS's EOPC sub-committee).

The international office has become the agenda-setting unit on campus with regard to matters international. The unit is seen by users of its services as providing specialised skills and contacts "on tap", thus obviating the need for each Department, School or discipline-based unit having to reinvent the study abroad wheel. It provides *functional* know how. The Dean of the School of Engineering underlined this functional utility of IO:

They open some doors, the rest is up to you. We open some doors ourselves. They have more substantial activities than just setting up contacts: on our side there's no point in signing things at the top and having nothing happen further down. They're allies - those people, but X in particular, really knows how to win friends and influence people.

The Head of the Chemistry Department concurred:

they handle the mechanics; I'm impressed with the calibre and dedication of their staff. They provide most of the pre-departure briefings and get our students well-prepared. But we handle the consequences of the year abroad with our own returnees, you can't send them over to the international office for that.

One other perspective on the development of the unit touches on its value in terms of [...] 's competition with other large state universities in the north east (55). In the Report and through discussions, it became clear that the unit was being promoted as [...] 's response to

the other universities that got into the [external funding and big grant money] act a long time ago, establishing Centers or Institutes. We never did that, there wasn't the critical mass for international anything at [...] twenty years ago when the others started so we missed the boat. X's stroke of brilliance was to get the international project going at [...] through the international office and its accent on undergraduate study abroad. Now it's related to the university's prestige, and that relates to our visibility (56).

#### International Office seen from the Schools

In the course of exploring the international rhetoric and reality of the university, it became apparent that the alacrity with which the objective of internationalisation through undergraduate study abroad was being pursued was unevenly distributed. The Report had pinpointed an obvious problem, which the Assistant Director acknowledged; "in my interviews with the Deans they all *said* the right things about 'international,'" but their actions belie their sentiments and as leaders they were not prepared to channel many human or financial resources into this area (57). The resistance (imperviousness) of the academic departments comes from them

not being convinced that international is that great - they have little experience of it, but they won't come out and admit it because we've made the discourse on international so positive on campus. Instead they'll fuss over the details - seeing problems with credits, evaluating other institutions' courses, concerns over rigorous standards, etc. Nobody strikes international off their list, but equally nobody puts it very high up their hierarchy.

Clusters of resistance were located not so much at the level of the School - "the Deans all pay it lip service" - but at the level of Department Chairs who often put barriers in the way of their students who have expressed an interest in study abroad. Future unit activity would target the Department Chairs more than hitherto, and "*the outside dis-*

*course on international might help make it more acceptable to them."*

According to the Assistant Director's analysis of several years, the advancement of the international ethos came through

people - certain people having their goals consciously or unconsciously international, producing good work, what we call excellence today; getting high visibility. Strong faculty leaders seem the crucial element, especially at the Departmental angle. Departmental interests don't necessarily gell so easily with international.

Illustrations of this came through the interviews with the Heads of Schools and Departments.

The chemist and the engineering respondents saw study abroad as being of greatest value in a general, broadening sense. Both were quite concerned about their undergraduates losing out in terms of the set courses that they would normally be expected to take at home.

The ones that do it [6 out of 2000 undergraduate engineering students] have a very good experience but they tend to lose some time. The main concern here is that you disrupt your schedule... however close the courses overseas are, they're never exactly the same: you pay for it in time as well as in dollars, but the cultural broadening is very good I think. The difficulty is that Engineering has such a fixed curriculum and so much is mandated, and people are in a tremendous hurry to get through, graduate and get the first \$40,000 job. Another difficulty is languages.

Referring to limitations imposed by the low levels of foreign language capability of engineering students he commented:

it's more important for them to learn about foreign cultures: do you really want students to learn the language or learn the culture and way of doing business? - the latter seems more important to me. It's more important that they understand what's going on with 1992 and, more importantly, with Japan - their entire system.

This stance was also adopted by X:

It's better to send engineers to France to broaden their general outlook than just to study engineering there - the language problems involved in that are enormous.

In Chemistry, there is a well-established exchange programme with [a British university]. It came about when

[the British university's Head of Chemistry] approached us because he thought a year abroad in the US would help him recruit a better quality student. And we saw the proposal as less a threat and more of a plus for our students - partly because [we] aren't as cosmopolitan as we might be, and partly because their physical chemistry and spectroscopy is of very high quality, and this offset the critical absence of our Junior students.

Both chemist and engineer were keen to point out that the criteria they used to assess their participation in international exchange activities were differentiated. While the chemist believed that the involvement of his faculty and students was intrinsically worthwhile as a culturally broadening experience (58), the engineer (Dean of the School) saw international activity as more than just exchange programmes.

Our German program has National Science Foundation support, German Government support, and corporate support on both sides (from manufacturing, engineering and production companies) Now that's something you can get a hold of and really do something with, *whereas with exchange programs you never know what's going to happen... Some work out and some don't.* We have exchange programs, but I don't think it has a big effect on what we do. *Exchange programs die on the vine if they don't tie into something bigger that both partners want to develop.* Sure, we encourage them, but we don't make an enormous effort to exchange students because its so difficult in engineering. Exchanges should be a by-product from something that generates enthusiasm on both sides (his emphasis) (59).

#### External Factors as perceived at [...]

In this section, it will be shown that on the issue of internationalisation [...] does not enjoy the same kind of closeness to the State and the Governor that was so clearly portrayed at the other US case study institution. What were

the chief 'external' pressures that respondents pointed to as influencing the pace and direction of international activity?

The relationship with the State is not seen as one conducive to international education:

this State is going through a very difficult financial period and as a result a lot of global literacy and understanding type programs are going down the tubes. We're operating in a State where there are periodic financial cuts, and we're now in the position where they are taking money back (60). The university has always been [ambivalent on the international issue]. The Provost is trying to set a tone, a direction, but it's not a tone that is generally supported by the State; the State's a little more parochial than that. Sure, there's quite a lot going on, but on an official, funded level - almost none. (Center Director) (61).

If the State plays a relatively minor role, and if strictly local manifestations of the internationalisation of the US economy are limited (the immediate vicinity is predominantly rural and agricultural), then the roles played by the professions themselves, and general labour market conditions come more into play. The Dean of Engineering acknowledged:

there's certainly a lot more talk about broadening the global understanding of engineers in the meetings of professional bodies around the country. But as far as doing something practical, that's not easy - there are language problems. The profession is becoming more aware but it takes so long to change. After WWII everything was rosy over here, now it's not - you have to shift away from complacency, fight for things, compete. There are world markets now and the US has got to look outwards for trade. We in the US will have to specialise in certain products. We get our undergraduates to think about these things when we talk about product quality, because quality analysis allows us to focus on foreign competitiveness.

The School has a Board of Advisors comprised of engineering firms and engineering executives and this, the Dean explained, was a fairly conservative group whose limitations were demonstrated over a Japanese proposal

for increased involvement between ourselves and a Japanese university which was greeted with a wall of scepticism by the panel which really took me by surprise. The Harvard chair who was working with us on this was shocked. We couldn't work out whether the reaction was to internationalisation or to Japan! (62)

Given that, the Dean was content to confirm that internationalising the School was something "we'd like to see, but it's not a priority."

### Status and Choice Considerations

This final section will note the stance taken by [...] on developing links with suitable institutions overseas. With a long-established student and faculty exchange programme, a wealth of experience and a very wide range of options, was status an issue? For the Dean of Engineering:

you have to remember in Germany you don't mention in the universities that you have anything to do with the Fachhochschulen; it's really tricky and we avoid that now. Our present arrangement with Fachhochschulen in [...] and [...] is based on mutual interest in manufacturing.

The international office Assistant Director suggested that a state university like [...]:

isn't too bothered about tie-ins with Polys - though if there's a program in English Literature for example, the preference would be for a university - partly also because up till recently the Polys have been less flexible due to CNAAs, whereas the universities will put on courses themselves. But private colleges and universities are much more picky.

The IO Director's views on the status of the institutions with whom [...] has study abroad links constitute the last quote of this section because they again reinforce the view that the primary characteristics of the university's brand of international education activity are moulded by X's strategy of going for

the best, or the best available, which can be different. For example in Japan the top status universities are the national ones. We have a modest in with one,

for historical reasons, but to attempt to deal with any of the others would be a waste of time because of their aloofness and bureaucracies. Functionally we go to high tier if not top tier institutions, and X has an uncanny ability to execute arrangements based on his network and position at [...]. People are willing to come here not on the basis of our 'aura' or status but on our track record of student exchange which is second to none.



#### Part Four - Summary and Conclusion

The evidence from the institutional level of enquiry demonstrates that an important range of intermediate considerations interpose themselves between the structural shifts explored in Chapters Three and Four and the emergence of international education at institutional level. Part One established an approach to institutional innovation in international education involving an 'external - internal' dimension applied in five sub-categories - idealist-realist; administrative unit; academic discipline or profession; market and status, and sub-systemic influences. This summary highlights insights provided by the institutionally-based respondents according to these categories. The conclusion considers whether any clear differences between US and EC practices and orientations can be discerned at the level of institutional practice.

The material presented in Parts Two and Three largely confirms the findings of earlier research into the origins and diffusion of international education - particularly in reference to study abroad programmes - within institutions of higher education (Burn & Briggs, 1985; Baron & Smith, 1987; Goodwin & Nacht, 1988; Burn, Cerych & Smith, 1990; Oppen, Teichler & Carlson, 1990). Several influences combine to bring institutional international education into being. Institutionally-based investigations invariably involve contested accounts of who was initially responsible for innovation, and why. Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) often claim pride of place as far-sighted parents of today's progeny of international activity. Administrative Unit directors do likewise. Innovations in the area of international education

are generally reported as originating through the initiative of an individual blessed either with prescience and power (Presidents, CEOs), or with insight and influence (operational or administrative unit directors). Such 'portal persons' move international education up institutional agendas, identify and encourage like-minded proponents and similarly oriented 'cosmopolitans'. A feature common to all key actors is their personal experience of international study or work.

However initiated, the subsequent diffusion of international education throughout the institution is then related to the speed of its adoption by Departments, Schools and Faculties. Such internal entities assess whether or not international education can be easily incorporated into their existing work, whether it detracts from or enhances their ability to meet goals and if adoption will win them prestige and resources in the institution. At the US college, and at the state university to a lesser degree, the demand of academic departments for international education was deliberately stimulated by internal, resource-allocating authorities.

The four institutions incorporated international education into their organisational culture in various ways. At the US college, the smallest of the institutions, the infusion of international education perspectives throughout the institution was total. An organisational culture defining itself primarily in international terms was established. At the state university, the proselytising attempts of the international office were accepted as part of the institutional ethos, but individual Departments and Schools

continued to make their own assessments, deploying their own discipline-based criteria, as to both the validity and benefits of undergraduate international education and student mobility. At the polytechnic a new emphasis on the international dimension was being encouraged at a number of different levels. At the UK university the salience of international education was less uniformly diffused, though attempts were being made to coordinate and encourage the process.

### *Realist - Idealist*

The evidence presented in Parts Two and Three, particularly the comments made by the most senior administrators, demonstrate the complexity with which the idealist and the realist interrelate.

References to external discourse are made in order to justify institutional developments in international education. To be effective, those elements have to be translated into an internal vocabulary or justification in order to gain leverage. This entails the use of 'international' to promote such institutional or programme objectives as visibility, excellence and marketability. A US college respondent described the attempt of international educators to convince corporate and political actors by using 'educator's rhetoric' as not being very effective. It becomes a question of translation and encoding, assessing which party (educators or political actors) responds best to which translation, and which concepts most successfully traverse the external-internal divide.

Key actors in international education invent their own 'international' discourse, inserting it where necessary to justify or enhance what they are already doing. This does not

mean that international only has an instrumental value as a means to an end. In increasingly competitive higher education environments free-floating idealism or disregard for the institutional reference point would lead to the early demise of international education. Each institutional or departmental policymaker develops their own discourse, fed by other actors who are trying to justify or enhance what they are already doing. 'International' is utilised in that capacity, as a value-added factor, rather than as a criterion in its own right.

On the idealist-realist dimension the case studies reveal a variety of ingenious ploys. The rational element in organisations has to co-exist with the human elements, that deploy or fabricate realist justifications to underpin and further their own agenda. An international office respondent observed:

it's part of the culture of higher education that we should be rational, give rational substance to our plans, our developments. Leave a rational trail by all means, but when we look at [the growth of international education initiatives in American institutions] there's serendipity as much as cost/benefit criteria, and that's the real driving force.

Because the funding sources for international education in the US are diverse and subject to change, and because the spread of US study abroad connections is so wide, a singular reference point for American international educators is elusive. NDEA is one focus, but at the State level the college found the State Governor's Grant more salient. By contrast, European international educators have a clearly defined focus in ERASMUS, and an identifiable network of ERASMUS clients and users. This serves to (a) denote a common identity and

(b) develop a relationship to an enabling body, the EC which - as a representation of European integration - possesses both symbolic and concrete significance. Moreover, once part of ERASMUS or COMETT, as a student, faculty or administrator, one becomes part of an expanding group of people that shared a similar experience from which the basis of a common identity can be derived (63). This is perhaps not dissimilar to the shared identity that Fulbrighters have, though the European experience is on a vaster scale and at the undergraduate level.

References to the EC and European integration in the UK interviews confirm the significance of regional integration and the agencies associated with it as 'external' influences on institutional behaviour. The European integrative project and "1992" have greater salience within European higher education institutions than do their US equivalents, competitiveness and the global marketplace, in US institutions. This is partly because European integration is clearly identified with an agency, the EC, which has specified links with the educational dimension through ERASMUS and COMETT. Interdependence and competitiveness are diffuse and are 'promoted' by a multiplicity of lobbying agencies. No single body, Federal or State, combines the symbolic and the enabling functions to the same extent as do the EC's mobility schemes.

Another European theme in which 'external' considerations are explicitly invoked to account for or justify 'internal' activities is - at the practical level - the preparation of students for career mobility in the European 'economic space', and - in the idealistic mode - the moulding

of future professionals who are both culturally adaptable and loyal to pan-European concepts of citizenship. Almost every respondent in the British institutions touched on this aspect.

#### *Administrative Unit*

Serendipity as an operating principle for institutional innovation in international education was suggested by several correspondents, and must be taken seriously in any analysis. However, closer examination reveals the far from fortuitous presence of several elements conducive to international developments - 'international' people, the need for an institution to secure a new, or more focused identity and changes in the funding environment. In addition, once a degree of international experience has become part of an institution's repertoire it can be converted to other uses. Senior administrators at both UK institutions mentioned that their experience serving the American study abroad market accelerated internal development of a modular degree system based on course credits which then had a new utility in the context of inter-European institutional cooperation (64).

The administrative units in all four institutions vary in their tasks and influence. Some are policy-driving power-houses, while others are conceived as looser, operational or administrative clearing-houses. Either way, they appear to be a necessary element in the internationalisation of institutions, and their relationship to the faculty and discipline-based units of the institution is of significance.

#### *Academic and Discipline Aspects*

The tension between the internationalist stance and that of the discipline or profession was particularly visible in

the interviews of the engineers, though elements also appeared in Law, Arts and Sciences. This is a major influence on the pace and direction of international education initiatives at the regular administrative unit level of higher education (the Department, School or Faculty).

It was often suggested at both universities that too close an association with 'international' might be dysfunctional to departmental career development which was still tied to discipline-based, narrowly defined norms. There was evidence that both the polytechnic and the US college were seeking to recognise involvement in international activities as a criterion in promotion and reward systems.

#### *Market and Status Considerations*

Market and status considerations influence the innovation process, though the degree of emphasis varies. Well established, relatively secure institutions (the universities) clearly stand less in need of an 'angle' than the newer institutions with some identity and status ambiguity (the polytechnic and college). The role that 'international' plays in marketing image and sector competitiveness emerges clearly in the college and polytechnic interviews. Academic administrators at both institutions invoked the demands of the labour market. At the polytechnic this was with reference to a more integrated Europe, and at the US college in terms of US competitiveness. These arguments echo Kogan & Youll's observation that:

the lower the status, the more the change is concerned with recruiting external, industrial or commercial recognition or support, and in making sure that undergraduate preparation is 'relevant' to the labour market (cited in van Vucht, 1989, 264).

One of the clear advantages accruing to the Europeans is the 'recognition factor' that ERASMUS, and to a lesser extent, COMETT carry. Not only are they increasingly recognised and understood acronyms in European higher education, but they also carry weight in the industrial and commercial sectors.

Another dimension of status concerns the relationship of the institution to its immediate locality. The larger, more prestigious universities saw themselves in international and national terms, whereas respondents at the polytechnic and the college made frequent references to their local constituencies. These were then tied together with 'international' in order to make each category meaningful in terms of the other.

#### *Sub-systems and external agencies*

The educational and political sub-system environment in which both sets of institutions operate is of critical importance (65). Political and fiscal considerations influence institutional strategies. Funds and funding sources are of more use to institutions than the rhetoric of external agencies and reports and rumours of reports. European institutions benefit from the existence of a more stable, more explicitly committed EC planning environment. The polytechnic mechanical engineering respondent put it simply: "I'd be surprised if anything would happen without some Eurocash to help things along..." The current problem at the US college is how to negotiate the transition from the grant-funded years to new sources of support for international education. In the process, it is actively seeking to link the international to the local.



## Conclusion

Although this chapter focused deliberately on an institutional level of analysis, consideration must finally be given to the comparative dimension at regional level.

In the material presented in Part Two, three factors relate to a general European, rather than an institutional context.

- 1) Consciousness of 1992, the Single Market and the general awareness of European integration.
- 2) Recognition of, and reliance upon, the EC as an agency that supports the internationalisation of higher education irrespective of the disposition of local (i.e., national) allocative authorities.
- 3) Changes in the political and economic environment that are pushing higher education institutions to be more competitive and more open to innovation. Institutions are increasingly accepting the need to find other sources of support, to seek new ways of attracting students, and to cater to student expectations of a European dimension to professional and career preparation.

In the case of the US institutions examined in Part Three, four regional factors operating beyond the institutional concerns can be discerned.

- 1) Competitiveness between institutions is more marked than is currently the case in Europe. In the more market-oriented US higher education system the competition for recognition, prestige and students is more intensive and the international dimension is more openly deployed as part of this process.
- 2) Political and economic relations between the State and the institution impact directly on the resources allocated to

international education. Moreover, in doing so they force a closer link to be made (rhetorically and pragmatically) between the local and the global.

3) In both US institutions the role played by the "international office" appears more proactive and more aimed at diffusing an institution-wide process, giving such units greater significance than their British counterparts. This can be understood partly in terms of the different undergraduate educational framework which makes international curricular innovations easier in terms of general or liberal education. It can also be seen in terms of the observations in Part One of this chapter which compare the innovation processes appropriate to centralised and market-oriented systems.

4) The rhetoric of the international education lobby, more active and developed in the US, where it makes frequent use of the interdependence and competitiveness motifs, contrasts with the more pragmatic references to local and institutional concerns made by institutional respondents.

The Chapter started with the assertion that differences between US and EC international education should be visible in the accounts rendered at institutional level. The material set out above suggests that they are, but that regional differences are mediated by such intervening factors as status, academic discipline and administrative arrangements.

In short, through the examination of international education at institutional level, Chapter Five has revealed the intersection of explanatory factors. While structural and regional elements clearly impact upon the orientation, form

and function of international education, the timing of and the processes by which such innovations are implemented relate to institutional and individual concerns.

The value of ethnography lies in

its capacity to depict the activities and perspectives of actors in ways that challenge the ... misleading preconceptions that social scientists often bring to research... the depiction of perspectives and activities in a setting.. [provides more lines of analysis than are] available to the 'armchair theorist' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 21-220)

The organisational context is the one in which most individuals experience the bulk of their daily lives. The international system, and the structural forces at work in and through that system are farthest from daily experience. Yet the encounter between individuals' experience and the global setting is critically important to any account of the development of international education. The final chapter discusses this point of intersection, where the individual, the institutional and the international meet with reference to the criteria established in Chapter Two.

## Footnotes

(1) Details of the interviews and source materials derived from these institutions are to be found in Appendix One, and the interview schedule appears in Appendix Two.

It became clear, early in the fieldwork, that individuals were making personal comments and assessments of colleagues as part of their attempt to explain the timing, pace and development of international education within an institutional context. Not naming respondents but retaining the identity of institutions would not have sufficed, since key personnel could be identified by position. It was thus decided that the institutions, as well as the respondents, should remain anonymous for reasons of confidentiality.

(2) For the most part, initial categorisation of responses was located along the axis of 'internal' and 'external' - how frequently are 'external' factors cited when accounting for the mobilisation of effort and commitment of resources towards increased international educational activity? How salient are 'internal' justifications used in such cases? However, the need for greater sophistication than this was met by development of the sub-set of categories outlined later in Part One of this chapter.

(3) In addition, Archer suggests that the methodological corollary to the sociological myopia that has led so many to ignore the social constitution of educational systems is the adoption of cross-national analysis. Such an analysis, which constitutes the comparative dimension of this thesis, presumably allows space factors (location) to be compared over time. The other concern of the thesis, which focuses on the utility of structure- and process-based accounts of differentiation in international education, is also related to the concept of morphogenesis.

(4) The staffing of these administrative units now provides a cadre of international education professionals. In the US such people have been organised in the professional sections of NAFSA for many years - SECUSSA (Section on US Study Abroad Advisors) and NCISPA (the National Council of International Studies Program Administrators). In Europe, the burgeoning growth of the EAIE, and of its professional sections - IRM (International Relations Managers) and SAFSA (Study Abroad and Foreign Student Advisors), which in from 1990 to 1992 have each developed memberships of over 500, are testimony to the growth of such specialised institutional staffs.

(5) The national systems themselves are characterised by different modes of authority. The traditional European mode combines central bureaucracy with national and local academic oligarchy, contrasting with the American mode of weak central authority, trustee and bureaucratic strength at the institutional level, and faculty influence at the local level.

(6) At present the European equivalent to the U.S. "market" for surveys, analyses and 'models' of existing international education programmes is only embryonic. Previous surveys have

tended to concentrate on curriculum development aspects (Heater, Hicks & Townley) rather than the structural aspects of programmes, as is the case with Goodwin & Nacht. In part this is a reflection of differences in innovation patterns between market-oriented and centralised systems of education, but as EC supported student mobility schemes proliferate, and the European professional groupings that are associated with such growth expand, an increased need will be felt in Europe for pooling and exchange of data, experience and opinion. First signs are the EAIE-sponsored 1992 and 1993 Summer Schools in Maastricht for international education administrators. One might safely anticipate a European publications and information clearinghouse function expanding in the near future.

(7) Ethnographers warn that any particular cultural meaning system - which can include higher education institutions - can turn out to be almost inexhaustably rich and complex, taking months of full-time participant observation to fathom out the meaning of references and allusions. Although my attempts to get inside the thinking and references of my informants were limited by time and status, I do attempt to effectively differentiate the cultural meanings given to "international education" in the four institutions concerned.

(8) As with the other case study institutions this one has established an administrative unit to handle the various aspects of international education. The International Division was set up to coordinate all of the functional tasks that involved the university in relations with external institutions, domestic or foreign, though in practice the focus has been international.

(9) He added that the institutions that were so dependent on overseas students were often the ones that were slowest to respond sensitively to diversified student needs, and this compounded the problems. He considered these aspects to constitute the "hidden costs" of international education.

(10) According to the respondent, the university is considering having offices in N. America (for recruitment, networking with research institutions and commercial organisations), and Brussels. Other universities are considering similar moves, on an individual or pooled basis.

(11) In connection with this, the first two respondents from this institution cited the presence of their university at the critical "Golden Circle" meeting at Louvain which was attended by the Rectors of the older European universities. Excluding the British participants, those attending included Athens, Barcelona, Berlin, Bologna, Coimbra, Dublin, Florence, Heidelberg, Köln, København, Leiden, Pisa, [...], Madrid, Montpellier, Nijmegen, Padua, Paris VI, Pavia, Poitiers, Salamanca, Strasbourg and Würzburg. At these meetings, Alan Smith, (future Director of the ERASMUS Bureau) representing the Commission, listened closely to the concerns and suggestions of the universities. The second respondent suggested that these meetings constituted a formative stage of the processes that ultimately resulted in the ERASMUS

programme. One of the more interesting contemporary developments is that smaller, less well resourced and less prestigious institutions are now becoming players in international higher education.

(12) The development of strong links between the university's theology department and several German universities was cited as having been strengthened and underpinned through the visiting students funded on DAAD grants.

(13) The second disciplinary area to develop strong international links in the university was Science. The respondent suggested that this was a consequence of Science subjects having been organised for some time on a course unit basis, thus making equivalency issues between institutions easier to resolve. Once similarly structured, he suggested, Arts subjects would be more open to transfer credit, thus enhancing student mobility.

(14) See LSE's documentation: "the international dimension of the School is perhaps its most distinctive feature, at least among institutions of higher learning in the western world." Looking Towards the Next Century: Development Statement 'White Paper', LSE, 10.11.89, 3).

(15) This can be seen as an aspect of what Per Dalin characterised as the market-oriented approach to innovation (hitherto typical mainly of US institutions) where institutionally-based 'packages' can be marketed to other institutions for the purposes of replication or emulation. As European education becomes more market driven, there are many areas of international education experience which are exportable in this manner. The first respondent's comments about the university developing course units (which inherently facilitate mobility) earlier than other institutions demonstrate his awareness of the advantage and potential in 'getting to the marketplace early'.

(16) He recollected having made this point quite forcefully at the 'Golden Circle' European Rectors Conference mentioned earlier (see footnote 11). Clearly their participation at that meeting is held to have played a significant impact in early EC-related European links.

(17) The French particularly highlighted the role that the degree was to play in the grand scheme of things:

devant le développement des relations internationales, notamment dans la domaine des affaires, et la nécessité de former des juristes préparés à ces relations. (UKUDOC 10, 2)

On the British side the Minutes of Faculty Meetings from June 1975 to late 1977 all reflected positive backing for the degree in very general terms (UKUDOCs 4 - 6)

(18) In 1988 and 1989 there were approximately 250 applicants for 12 places; many applicants were characterised as "Eurobrats" by the respondent, though documentation shows

that the social background of UK applicants is broader than that of the French. The Minutes of meetings between French and English administrators show the latter to be constantly urging the French to seek ways to socially expand the recruitment base. "Only grants from the Commission have made it possible to broaden the social base of students coming from France." (UKUDOC 3, 3 - 5) Altogether there are 12 French and 12 UK students on the course in any one year; there is a waiting list.

(19) The anecdotal evidence from alumni seems to be encouraging. Many of the French students completing the joint degree went on to become qualified [...] in England, some of whom now work for English companies with offices in Paris and Brussels. Some of the UK entrants have gone on to practice EEC [...]. Important alumni-based networks are developing, especially in relation to employment. The report (UKUDOC 2) stresses the importance of close ties and contacts between the university and the profession, remarking that this is easier in the UK than in France.

(20) In addition to the original link with France, the university now has ICPs in the respondent's discipline with German and Spanish universities. The respondent's remarks to the effect that the German link was more dynamic were confirmed in a telephone conversation with the Administrator of the German programme. The member of faculty associated with the Spanish link was unavailable for comment.

(21) It is essential that someone from [...] participates in the French interviews; for the smooth functioning of admissions, the administration of the programme and the operation of the examining boards it is essential that the lecturers and administrators of the programme from both universities continue to meet to exchange ideas and information (UKUDOC 13, 3).

(22) The primary aim of the joint degree appears historically to have been to offer a training which would lead to qualifications acceptable to both English and French professions which would allow the holder to practice in either or both countries.

This is the sole aim mentioned in the minutes of the meetings concerning its introduction. A second, compatible, aim seems to have grown out of the early experience of the programme - namely, preparation for expertise permitting international commercial work based not in France or Britain but elsewhere, perhaps the USA. A third primary aim, according to (UKUDOC 15, 1),

might be that of providing a general exposure to two cultures through a study of one discipline in both contexts... This would certainly be a departure from the original intentions of the degree, and has to be considered a by-product, given that the overwhelming majority of graduates do in fact become professional [...].

(23) One could contrast the stance taken in UKUDOC 2, 3: Faced with the Mutual Recognition of Degrees and

Qualifications Directive, the [...] systems of Eire and the U.K., and the [...] traditions of the rest of the Community will have a difficult time. Our JSP, being an integrated one, is one of the ways to allow [...] to practise in more than one jurisdiction, with the dearth of links between faculty and prospective employers of the joint degree graduates (voiced by this respondent and the previous incumbent of the post). Similarly, "it's time to build on the initial success of the degree and to broaden it within the two Faculties." (UKUDOC 1, 8), and it was suggested that an institutionalised link between Paris and [...] be established which would result in French and English lecturers exchanging places for a week/month/term in order to further the development of teaching and research links between the two institutions (UKUDOC 17, May 9th 1988, 1).

(24) The joint B.A. degree programme with a French Ecole Supérieure de Commerces was given retrospective CNAAP approval in 1976; in 1978 a German Fachhochschule was added, and in 1986 ICADE a partner in Madrid became involved. The links have now formed the basis of an ERASMUS ICP.

(25) He went on to explain that he recently discovered that the Poly had authorised three separate teams of negotiators travel to adjacent areas in Europe to visit different institutions at the same time. "Some coordination could save on the expenses of that kind of duplication."

Since the date of this interview, the Polytechnic has developed an Administrative Unit to handle international education. This comes under the supervision of the Head of Academic Development who also supervises the Europe Office. The Director of the International Office also chairs the Polytechnic European Committee on which each Faculty has a representative.

Existing, well-established, international educators at the Poly see the new administrative unit in prosaic terms:

I don't have much to do with them. Occasionally stuff from them comes trundling through, and [the Unit Director] will write and tell me the dates for completing ERASMUS Action 1 and 2 applications - which I already know because I deal with them directly - both Brussels and the NGA at Kent.

The same 'old-timer' did concede: "they recently issued a list of the various contacts that the College has in Europe, and it was a pleasant surprise to me."

Those faculty that are relatively new to the business of setting up links find the Office provides them with useful resources and information. Most respondents agreed that there was a need to target and coordinate the international activities of the college in order to avoid duplication of effort and share mutually important information. The European Office appears to be appreciated:

it's efficient, passes on literature, keeps us upda-



ted on what's happening, and we know we can get more information if needed from the clearinghouse. Their dissemination of material is impressive - there was so much of it coming across my desk, I had to appoint [...] to specialise in it, treat it as a priority and get to work on it, follow through... (Dean of Faculty of [...]).

(26) The respondent's views on the inequities within the binary system emerged on different occasions during the interview:

Universities don't have a policy of undermining our initiatives, it's just that they have a resistance to new ideas. If I'd have pushed a one year abroad programme in 1974 where students could just swan around and learn a little language, I'd have got that through straight away, but because it was a two year integrated programme and I was dealing with officials whose whole background is university, I had trouble.

I don't have the resources to solve the student housing problem; I think foreign students should at least have first year housing amenities. It's an important element in their security, and therefore an important aspect of recruitment. This is where - my paranoia's showing - the universities have much better residential accommodation facilities.

(27) The term 'gladiator' used in this capacity is based on the typology offered by Milbrath (1965) to denote political activists who reinforce strong beliefs and further their agenda by high profile activities.

(28) At a review meeting recently at [...] Poly people were literally horrified at how extensive the parameters of the programme were, but for us it's 'normal'. We have six or seven people managing this programme in addition to their regular contact hours: a course leader, a deputy course head, a person responsible for each of the four years of the programme, someone responsible for ERASMUS Action 2 funds, work placement coordinators and an exam coordinator. There's some doubling up, but we're really stretched.

(29) People are dropping out of the programme management team, they're not getting replaced, there's very little new blood around that's interested, so the work is either reallocated, redefined or just simply neglected. Why work the Head of Department Grade 6 contract for an SL's salary? People are getting [...] remission or allowances for their work on [this degree].

(30) Many of this respondent's observations were echoed by the Course Head of another relatively well-established joint degree with a French provincial university that has been running since the mid-1980s. In particular he singled out "the absolutely vital part that the 17,000 ECU of Action 1

funding has played in getting this project started."

He also commented that the rhetoric on Europe was not matched by the provision of adequate resources to cope with the consequences of their international programmes:

a vast amount of our time is taken up dealing with culture shock, adjustment problems of students, etc. There's a bit of having it both ways: [...] and [...] are two flagship courses, but we just don't get the necessary resources.

(31) This respondent held a post that covered two areas; he is Head of Externally Funded Courses, and Europe Coordinator for the School of [...], which involves the coordination of all non-research activities of the faculty in Europe, including teaching and student mobility. Prior to that he had extensive ERASMUS experience as Course Head, [...]. The combination is unique in the Polytechnic, and was created and secured by the Dean.

(32) The original scheme was based on a voluntary post-course year at either [...] (France)] or the Poly. Not surprisingly, few HND students were motivated, or could afford, an extra year of studies. The new scheme is short, cheap (the cost to UK students is £50), and effective, and is based on 12 students from each of four institutions in France, Germany, Holland and the U.K. visiting each place for a week and working on a project.

(33) During this interview the respondent expressed some mild amusement at my brand-new copy of the 1991-2 Prospectus whose cover was emblazoned with an overtly inter-European slogan, yet when we were interrupted by a phone call from the Dean, I heard him talking of the international mix of the graduating class of engineers (French, German and Spanish) and how nice it would be if they could get a photograph of the Director presenting the degrees to this group.

(34) Polytechnic participation in CITE (Consortium for Information Technology in Education) started in 1986 with a Royal College of Art proposal for a link between four colleges. The Polytechnic Faculty had been awarded a DES Educational Support Grant in 1984-5 for being a National Centre of Excellence in Computing in Art & Design, and this had given them advanced standing in the field. The EC contribution to CITE brought the School 50,000 Ecu. A COMETT Strand B link is established with a Design school in Spain.

(35) Both this respondent and the mechanical engineer mentioned how EC funds could be used (sometimes indirectly) to secure much-needed equipment that the PCFC's capital squeeze had rendered unobtainable. The mechanical engineer said he dangled EC support of their courses in front of his industrial and business links, saying 'look at what we're doing, how about a gift or a large discount?' The Arts respondent suggested there were "all sorts of spinoffs - a new electric loom, for instance."

(36) The Europe Coordinator for Art & Design had written to

Faculty colleagues (UKPDOG 4) to explain the nature, scope and opportunities offered by the new European links; he is also setting up a structure so that every student in the Faculty over a whole range of courses could spend a semester in at least one other European institution.

(37) The Dean pointed out that there is a reward system insofar as European connections are encouraged. Courses with a European thrust score brownie points, even in terms of promotion criteria for individuals.

(38) For a brief exploration of the dynamics of the 'global-local' nexus, see Robins, 1990.

(39) In 1985 State Governor "challenged" his state colleges to devise programmes of excellence that would "move education into the future". The winner of the Grant in 1986 was [...], with it's "outstanding proposal designed to move the institution to national distinction by committing itself to becoming a permanent undergraduate center for international and multicultural education."

(40) See Appendix One for comprehensive details of the Challenge Grant Project (please see p. 367a).

(41) As with other institutions, [...] is aware of the recruitment element potentially associated with international education, particularly study abroad. In fact, it declared (Objective Six) that the CGP would aim to improve retention and enrollment, especially of the local population and the minorities that characterised that population, and it aimed to do so by building in study abroad elements to coincide with their "roots". It was discovered, especially with the Italian-Americans (who make up the largest local ethnic group, but also the Chinese, that they could not go straight to the planned study abroad component because of the loss of second language capability. In recognition of this [...] had to spend more money and effort than anticipated on language preparation, a similar syndrome to that being experienced by both UK institutions as they look to increase their pool of linguistically capable candidates for study abroad.

In Summer 1989 a total of 7 study abroad programmes ranging between three weeks and two months were on offer: Eire, Israel, England, Puerto Rico, Italy and France; nearly 90 students participated in these. In addition, some Chinese, Soviet Union and Kenyan Study Tours were also offered, and three students were on work experience placements in the UK. By any measure, this is a modest achievement, but it is seen as a start.

(42) The State Governor presented one of the authors of the Grant Proposal to the State Legislature during the Budget debate:

With the help of a Grant that you approved, this man began to make [...] the college of choice for young

### Supplementary Material Relating to Chapter Five

p. 327, Footnote 40/p.367, Footnote 40 "See Appendix One for comprehensive details of the Challenge Grant Project."

When it was decided that the case study institutions should remain anonymous, the details relating to this college were removed from the Appendix, but the reference remained.

The Challenge Grant of \$3.46m was made by the State Governor to the college in 1986 in order to fund the institutionalisation of internationalism and become "the state college specializing in international education." The Governor's Challenge was to "develop a distinctive identity which was based on existing strengths and opportunities."

The funds were released to the college over a three-year period, with the largest single amount being used for capital expenditure on an International Telecommunications Center. Other areas of expenditure supported an ambitious and extensive faculty and administration in-service training programme over a three-year cycle, the funding of a visiting scholars programme and the inauguration of an attractive faculty exchange programme with overseas institutions.

A Board of Advisors, comprised of well-known US international educators, was established and an outside agency, Global Perspectives in Education (American Forum) based in New York was contracted to provide regular evaluation reports on the Challenge Grant process. In addition, annual interim reports by those responsible for the administration of the Grant were filed with both GPE and the State Department of Higher Education. The author had access to all reports and documentation detailing the initial proposal, the interim reports and the draft external evaluator's report.

Americans who want to become globally literate. Today, [...] students learn foreign languages, they study international business, they debate students in Japan, the Netherlands and around the world through modern telecommunications. With our wise investment, this professor has helped put [...] on the map, and in doing so he is helping to guarantee that America will have a place on the world's economic map in the 21st century. (Appendix V, USCDoc 10)

(43) [these two members of faculty] were known around the country but weren't called upon in their home institution; there was a lot of dormant interest and awareness of these things just under the surface.

(44) The impression of this respondent as a seasoned political operator, prepared to follow whichever paths held the promise of fiscal support for his institution, is borne out by the contacts that he listed in the interview. These ranged from senators and congressmen and women from both parties, (with a clear emphasis on those who purportedly had President Bush's ear), state governors, corporate executives, newspaper and media influentials, the great and the good in national higher education associations.

(45) See Per Dalin's observations in Part One, Section Two.

(46) During my visit in June, 1989, I was shown an entry in a large circulation consumer affairs magazine that has in the past assessed the standing of what are called the 'public ivys' (U. Cal, Michigan, Virginia). In a follow-up article on ten exemplary "small public ivys", [...] received a listing, much to everyone's joy and excitement. The entry runs as follows:-These colleges offer top students, excellent faculty, an intellectual amiance, a challenging curriculum...and, big plus, their tuition is one-third to one-half that of the private Ivy League schools...

[...] emphasizes internationalism - both academically and in its student body. Each year's courses and events are built round a curricular theme of cultural immersion.

The Grant experience is also featured in an article in a wide circulation international studies journal.

(47) Both the CIE Director and the senior academic administrator spoke of the need to put into place review structures by which Area Studies and Study Abroad projects could be assessed. The senior administrator was frank:

We have no coherent stance on Latin America now. We don't even know where to base the Study Abroad component. We've got contacts, written agreements with Jamaica, Barbados, Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, Mexico, and now some other faculty want Guatamala added to the list! I mean, come on, we're never going to send people to all of those places!

(48) The ITC (International Telecommunications Center) is a showpiece of the College, and one of the few hardware

acquisitions directly funded by the Grant. It has satellite up-link and down-link facilities which make on-line national and international videoconferencing possible, as well as access to all satellite TV transmissions. It is thus used by foreign language, international business, politics and International Studies majors. It is also used by local businesses and corporations as an audio- and tele-conferencing venue.

(49) The previous chairman of the Professional Development Seminar (PDS) was less sanguine about the diffusion process. Recollecting recollected the stiff resistance of certain disciplines to the call to "internationalise", the former PDS chairman commented:

There were areas of the College that were not being impacted adequately up until quite recently and we had to really reach out into those faculties, try and get one or two people interested, then reward and encourage them. The 'hard scientists' were the biggest hassle - they couldn't relate...there was a virtual arrogance, with them saying "by definition my discipline, and science as a whole, is international, now leave me alone to get on with my lab work." Fine Arts and Performance Arts were a little slow too, there's a lot of people there that just want to do their own thing.... But the School of Social Science and Human Services has really responded well and has developed a cohesive focus and base through the Grant project - they're the ones that have emphasised the multicultural dimension more than the international. Some Schools really were energized and transformed through the Grant.

(50) X has held senior posts, and has played a major role in all the prominent American international education organisations, as well as being deeply involved with periodicals and publications in the field. He is also on the Board of Advisors for [...] Grant along with other prominent US international educators.

(51) The Report recommended the establishment of an Office of International Affairs which would incorporate the Foreign Student Office and would "ensure secretarial assistance, a publications acquisition and travel budget and a closer relationship to the university's overall functioning." The Report identified a 14-point programme of responsibilities that ranged from the coordination of inbound and outbound student affairs (visas, credential evaluation, information clearinghouse, etc.), to producing an inventory of [...] existing international contacts and human resources prior to developing plans for their future expansion and better exploitation in the context of university long term planning. These objectives have all been realised, which is a testimony to the clarity and farsightedness of X's strategic vision.

(52) It has been suggested that the 700% increase in foreign students at [...] from 1960-1967 was the immediate cause of the creation of the international office in 1969.

The author of the Report was asked why the new Vice-Chancellor/Provost wanted such a report:

Number one he was a new broom and therefore wanted to sweep clean; number two, his big thing is cost benefit analysis. There's a lot going on internationally at [...], but how does one quantify it? So the Report sets out to quantify it, to ask what does it cost the University and what do we get out of it? What kind of incremental investment is needed? In some ways it was me reviewing my boss, because X's influence and leadership is so enormous. In the end I was able to show a 2:1 payoff for the university.

He continued:

the significance of the assessment report - though I'm not unbiased here - is that in the current mood of budget crunches when the major areas come before the Provost and the people doing the cutting, that it is *now more difficult for them* to slash or cut significantly. (his emphasis).

(54) IFS (the international and foreign studies committee) was created in 1973 at X's instigation to recommend policy to the Faculty Senate and Provost, to act as a forum for all campus units with international interests and concerns, to coordinate existing international activities and to encourage and monitor new developments. EOPC, (Exchanges & Overseas Programs), a sub-committee of IFS, is "heavily influenced by X and often sets the IFS agenda." (Dean of the School of Education)

(55) The Report compares [...] with "five peer universities" which are the University of Connecticut, Cornell, the University of New Hampshire, Penn. State University and the University of Maryland.

(56) Personnel at the Center were keen to point out that it had been established for more than 20 years, regularly received large federal and foundation grants, and had made its own unique contribution to the reputation of [...] both abroad (particularly in Africa), and in the US.

(57) The Report lists Study Abroad as coming tenth of the Deans' top ten priorities, though the respondent took a philosophical view of this:

Is it so bad that study abroad is at the end of the line? This is a university, not a corporation, so being last doesn't imply getting the chop - you still get your dinner.

(58) It has worked in the sense of being internationalising; some of the [...] exchange students have returned here to do postgrad work. Settling the mechanics of the exchange has been interesting on both sides - getting exams exchanged... working out English grades, getting my faculty to evaluate their students with more than just a letter grade...asking

the English why they wouldn't count any of the non-science courses, etc....

(59) The Dean explicitly connected the School's new distance learning package being networked by NTU (National Technological University) with the benefits of his Study Abroad links with institutions in Germany and the UK. NTU uses live satellite up and down links, and is based on a consortium of 24 universities, with [...] as the leading supplier of Engineering programmes); videotaped lectures in the appropriate specialist areas had been sent from the overseas institutions already linked with, translated where necessary, and relayed out as part of their own package, thus bestowing "international prestige" on the School, and giving it an international profile in the US. It should be stressed that these continuing education courses and most others that were mentioned in a positive light were *postgraduate*, thus veering at a tangent to IO's stress on undergraduate-level international education.

(60) On my arrival at [...], my host pointed to a row of offices whose telephones had been disconnected, to a plug-less xerox machine, and to empty secretaries positions. Due to a Budget crisis the State had mandated an absolute freeze on certain areas of the higher education budget from July 1st till the beginning of the new academic year, and this had been the university's draconian response.

The international office Senior Specialist commented that regardless of any cost/benefit analysis showing high rates of return, State funding for international education was bound to be cut due to the budget crisis.

(61) As the Senior Specialist pointed out, there are states in which the State University is "the only game in town", and where as a result the state is prepared to pump money into international programmes because of the publicity and value-added possibilities. This state, however, has a plethora of well established, prestigious institutions with multifaceted international connections, so the needs of [...] are not seen to be pressing. It was confirmed to me that very few State Congressmen were interested or active in the international education lobby.

(62) This commitment was queried by the Senior Specialist who commented:

Remember these engineers have a less developed sensitivity to multicultural priorities. They keep their categories intact, they're conservative and rational and don't harness and ride international in the same way as some of the other Schools. In his statement for the Report the Dean told me that more and more of the engineering firms that his undergraduates join are putting their executives on international assignment. Having said that, I still think that engineers seem to think that their profession isn't so much international as universal - that building a bridge in Uganda is the same as in Sweden, and that it's not necessary for the Department or the university to make a commitment



to cultural sensitivity because it will happen experientially, on the job. That's how it's perceived.

While this is a common perception, it is worth remarking on the similarity of the arguments advanced by the engineers at [...] and the UK Polytechnic - namely, that when the industry and the profession see sound reasons for international experience they will pursue it more enthusiastically.

(63) See, for example, the ERASMUS Student Network and the ERASMUS Medical Student Group.

(64) Particularly in conjunction with the ECTS scheme, but it would also assist with course changes occasioned by domestic shifts in access to higher education (greater volume, more part-time students).

(65) The importance of higher education systems was acknowledged as "having an overwhelming influence on the design of study abroad programmes" in the SAEP (Burn, Cerych & Smith, 1990, 80).

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

This thesis sought to identify and explain differentiation in US and EC international education. This chapter summarises the arguments and evidence presented to account for *how* and *why* these two patterns of international education differ.

A mid-range account of differentiation in international education is supported on the grounds that structural approaches inadequately incorporate the role of individual and institutional concerns, and that institutionally-based interactionist approaches ignore critical structural conditions.

In three steps the chapter summarises this position by:

1. reiterating the basic aims and arguments of the thesis;
2. following the development of the argument through each chapter of the thesis, and
3. drawing conclusions from the findings of the thesis.

Thus the aims, arguments and evidence presented by the thesis are linked together

#### Aims and Arguments

The thesis set out to ascertain whether differences existed between US and European undergraduate education, and to offer explanations for the existence of any such differences. It did so because it is believed that although international education might share certain characteristics wherever it is practised it is important to recognise differences in emphasis, in the timing and the pace of its development and in the purposes to which it is addressed. Such differences indicate variations in the concept of

international education, and draw attention to the role it plays both in reflecting and in developing national and regional consciousness of the international system.

Before proceeding with the comparative elements of the thesis, it was suggested that international education was a socially-constructed phenomenon linked to the process of globalisation which is normally discussed in political, economic, cultural and communications terms. Chapter One offered the argument that the varied meanings and practices of international education were related to the shifting concepts of 'international' at different times and in different locations. Nations and regions experience the international order in different ways. These related but distinctive interpretations of international, it was argued, would influence the amount and the type of international education available in different locations.

The thesis deliberately adopted two theoretically distinct approaches to the explanatory task. One approach was macroscopic and structural while the other was institutionally-based and interactionist. It was suggested that the emergence of a given type of international education might be explained in terms of a region's changing strategic, economic or cultural relationship to the world order. Equally, international education might be inhibited or enhanced by the marketing strategies of colleges, new developments in academic disciplines, or the presence of individuals with international experience.

The tension between the different modes of explanation was incorporated into the thesis because it was suspected at the beginning that neither structure nor action as sensi-

sing devices could constitute an adequate explanatory perspective on their own. Each overlooks essential aspects of causality such as structural conditioning and human agency. The choice was therefore made in the thesis to proceed along two lines of enquiry investigating the extent to which these accounts of differentiation in international education were interrelated.

In Chapter One, three specific arguments were established that would guide this investigation. The first was that the objectives and purposes of international education shifted in relation to changes in the international order. Both elements would need to be examined.

Secondly, it was suggested that in accounting for regional differences (and differences within a given region over time), attention must be paid to the way in which structural influences are mediated by smaller-scale concerns. These intermediate factors would also need to be identified and examined.

Thirdly, it was argued that a mid-range theory, sensitive to both structural and institutional influences, would offer the most appropriate way of understanding why and how US and EC international education differed.

#### The Steps of the Argument

The argument of the thesis proceeded in three parts. First, to ascertain the existence of differences in European and US international education there had to be an attempt to conceptualise the generic forms of the phenomenon. Only then could differences be perceived and plotted. (This was the objective of Chapter Two).

The second element of the argument pursued the

macro-oriented structural account of the development of international education in the US and Europe. This would illuminate the effect of different contexts on the aims and objectives of international education, as well as on the pace and nature of its development in the two areas. (Chapters Three and Four explored this problem).

The third element in the argument juxtaposed the structural account of the development of international education with an institutionally-focused one. This was based on individuals describing in their own terms why they and their institutions were involved in international education activities. (This constituted the focus of Chapter Five).

The first step in the argument accepted that for either mode of explanation to proceed, international education had to be defined in such a way that it could be subjected to comparative analysis. Chapter Two developed conceptual and operational definitions of international education, setting the terms within which the subsequent analysis could take place.

It was argued that the idea of 'international' like any concept, will change according to time and circumstance. Establishing 'international' as a realist and not a utopian construct, the chapter then established a distinction between interdependence and integration perspectives on the international order. Integration was portrayed as a complex process resting, in part, upon public and elite acceptance of the end product - an integrated system. Functionalist and neo-functionalist modes of integration were reviewed, with the functionalist stress on a diffuse, mass-based acceptance of integration being contrasted with the neo-functionalist

emphasis on interest groups and narrower, more technical issues. Interdependence was held to entail fewer direct consequences for the system or its parts than integration.

The chapter argued that the increasingly international world order produces the circumstances within which international education can flourish and asked whether international institutions could deliver such education. Part Two examined earlier forms of international education, demonstrating that organisations and institutions outside the ambit of national systems were, as Huden suggested, "irrelevant" and unlikely to make a significant contribution to the field.

Paralleling Gellner's (1983) argument that, through such agencies as educational systems, nations define what is meant by nation and nationalism, it was argued that by incorporating elements of international education into national education systems, nations were (re-) defining themselves and their interests in terms of the international order.

Chapter Two, Part Three established a model of international education which portrayed it as having three dimensions - *orientation*, *function* and *form*. These dimensions enabled different aspects of the phenomenon to be compared and contrasted in terms of the underlying problematic being addressed, the consequent objectives and the methods used. Part Four argued that a focus on student mobility was useful since it would hold the form constant while allowing US-EC differences to be explored in terms of orientation and function.

Chapter Two established the use to which the evidence

produced in subsequent chapters would be put - i.e., that the orientations and functions of international education may be understood in terms of the meanings attached to international by the nations or regions concerned.

The arguments of Chapters Three and Four paralleled one another. Both identified the structural circumstances and political orientations that 'drove' the perceptions of the international. Such perceptions moulded the *orientations* of the two patterns of international education. Both chapters identified the presence of system characteristics that favoured or inhibited the development of certain *forms* and *functions* of international education. Each chapter examined shifts in the political, economic and cultural agenda that influenced the development of international education over time.

Chapter Five argued that the explanatory task would remain incomplete unless an institutional approach to international education was incorporated. This would put to the test the structural explanation based on attributing different patterns of international education to the direct influence of systemic forces. Interviews with international educators active in institutions in both areas would reveal the degree to which individual and institutional accounts echoed the structural arguments. Ethnographic methods applied in case study institutions would facilitate the development of a more comprehensive theoretical account of growth and differentiation in international education. The influence of a range of mid-range intervening factors was predicted.

### Findings of the Thesis

The thesis has established that US and EC international education differ in *orientation* and *function*, even where they share the similar *form* of student mobility. The findings of the thesis will be presented by comparing the orientations and functions of EC and US international education.

#### Orientation

US and EC international education differ primarily because they reflect unique national and regional perceptions of 'international'. Varying perceptions of 'international' reflect the different importance of strategic, economic and political interests in each case, creating differences in *orientation*. EC international education is largely integrationist and regiocentric in its orientation. US international education is interdependence oriented and shifts between nationalist and polycentric inclinations.

European international education activity is focused on Europe, with intra-European faculty, student and administrator mobility fitting into the larger picture of mobility of goods, capital and labour. European international education, with its stress on inter-institutional links and the beginnings of a credit transfer system is part of a sectoral adaptation to a European educational space.

An underlying policy coherence to EC international education operates by encouraging individuals and institutions into new modes of mobility and cooperation for the purpose of regional integration. Because of this, the EC's role in policymaking and resource allocation has both realist and symbolic political significance. International education in Europe has benefited considerably from being closely



associated and easily identified with such a historically significant regional project. Since this integrative project remains an ongoing one at the time of writing there is, at present, a coordinated, stable and programmed basis of support for European international education (1).

At present, European international education is inward looking in its orientation, in the sense that it addresses regional concerns, even if those regional interests are partially defined in terms of competition in the global marketplace (2).

The interdependence orientation of US international education emerged as a result of the shift from earlier definitions of the national interest in the Cold War context of political and strategic dominance. Gradual acceptance of American economic interdependence and a reversal of fortune in US terms of trade with the rest of the world meant that perceptions of vulnerability shifted from the strategic to the economic. Since US international education is in part an attempt to end the continent's psychological isolation from the international system, its global orientation contrasts with that of Europe. The reference points of American international educators habitually range over a wider area than their European counterparts.

### Functions

The *functions* of EC international education relate to its orientations. The mobility schemes provide a practical demonstration of the opportunities offered by the Single Market and alert future professionals to the possibility of following a career in other parts of the European economic

space. ERASMUS and COMETT develop cross-cultural adaptation and build a European citizen identity. They show, by example, the benefits of intra-European cooperation in technology, research and production. By bringing different institutional actors together they help form new interest groups inclined towards closer integration and who regard Community institutions as a source of support and reward. This supports the 'spillover' arguments of neo-functional integration theory.

The *functions* of US international education are now primarily to be seen in terms of the knowledge and skills necessitated by more severe competition in the world economy. An affective attachment to the international order is not a necessary part of this skill acquisition. Thus a major distinction between US and European international education is that the European pattern encompasses a more volatile mixture of realist and idealist, political and economic, cultural and social functions than its US analogue. In Susan Strange's terms, the production and knowledge sectors are bound more tightly together in EC international education policy than is the case in the less coordinated, more market-oriented US.

Chapter Three demonstrated that in the decentralised US academic marketplace, with little central oversight or funding, the efforts of US international educators to create an agency that would rationalise what is being done and assist in the development of a more coordinated policy remain frustrated. Like its European counterpart, US international education has to face whichever way the funds flow, but the funding sources are more diverse and volatile.

What did Chapter Five, from its institutional perspective, add to these findings? A range of sectoral and institutional factors were identified as affecting the timing, the mode and the delivery of international education. Discipline and professional factors were influential, together with considerations relating to institutional status and competitiveness. The role of internal administrative units was seen as significant, especially in the more decentralised, market-oriented US system. The processes that drive the development of international education at institutional level were seen to relate to individual concerns over resources, time and promotion.

Chapter Five highlighted the institutional impact of the enabling bodies that support and coordinate international education policy. ERASMUS and COMETT seem to have a "magnetic function" in drawing together like-minded people to create a critical mass for international education. A US equivalent might be NDEA Title VI, but this lacks the larger appeal that European integration has at a practical and rhetorical level. Differences were also noticeable in terms of lobbying and the politics of international education. US educators were - necessarily - more adept at coalition-building activities and political leverage. The European international education lobby is in its infancy, and it is unclear whether its efforts should be directed at Brussels, Strasbourg or the individual Member States.

Although Chapter Five demonstrated the complexities involved in accounting for differentiation in EC and US international education, one issue emerged with particular clarity. It was easier for European international educators

to invoke the regional integrationist rationale in support of their activity than it was for their US counterparts to utilise the motif of global interdependence.

### Conclusion

This thesis has argued that international education emerges out of both a systemic and structural background which influences its orientation and function, but that it is also responsive to institutional and individual interests and concerns. The methodological starting point of the thesis was that differentiation between US and EC international education must be understood in both structuralist and interactionist terms. The evidence reviewed above supports this.

The thesis has taken two clearly differentiated approaches to the growth of international education in the EC and the US. It has sought to keep the structural and macro factors conceptually distinct from the subjective and micro levels. Ritzer (1981) suggested that although the world-system level of analysis is as necessary as the observation of individual thought and action, the explanatory core is located where these two levels interact - in the analysis of groups and institutions (3).

Through its structure and methodology the thesis has suggested an appropriate analytical approach to regional patterns of international education. The approach adopted linked the world system and the changing relationship of the region or nation to that system over time. It also took into account the main sub-systemic elements that impinge on international education (such as the higher education sector), the institutional level and the perceptions and motivations of key actors.

These influences operate by suggesting variable opportunity costs to specific groups in distinct situations, resulting in particular actions. As the senior academic US college respondent put it, the decision to pursue an international education strategy was taken through a mixture of "mission and reality, pragmatism and values and institutional strategy too." In the process of differentiating between US and EC patterns of international education this thesis has attempted to comprehend the multiple dimensions encompassed in this statement.

## Footnotes

(1) The Maastricht Treaty, while remaining unratified (May 1993) incorporates elements of recent Commission thinking on international education. Continued support for the mobility of students and teachers is mentioned in the context of Community commitment to Trans-European Networks. (CEC, 1992, 7)

Incentive measures aimed at higher education mobility, exchange and intensified cooperation are linked directly to the dynamics of the Single Market in the Commission Memorandum on Higher Education (CEC COM 349, 1991). The "strategic importance of ... higher education systems in helping to make the completed Internal Market work" (p.1) is linked to cultural, R&D, industrial manufacturing and training aspects of the Single Market process.

The success of the Internal Market depends on having people who have the capability to operate across national and cultural boundaries. A European dimension in higher education is perceived as a *practical economic necessity apart from its desirability on cultural and political grounds...* [This would] enlarge to a European scale the frame of reference in which higher education and advanced training are planned. (COM 349, 40) (emphasis added)

(2) The Eurocentrism resulting from EC mobility policies appears to have been recognised in the choice of the November 1993 EAIE Conference theme of European - Third World education issues. In its four years of existence, two conferences focused exclusively on intra-European policies and practices and one that examined transatlantic mobility.

(3) Ritzer reviewed the attempts of other sociologists to develop a paradigm that integrated micro and macro perspectives. He generally found that when the micro was well theorised the structural was ignored, and when the macro was explored the interaction was overlooked. His response was to stipulate two intersecting continua - the macroscopic-microscopic and the objective-subjective. Taken together these would illuminate a number of different levels of social reality. The goal of the integrated paradigm is not to focus on any particular level but on the ways in which they interrelate.

Ragin (1989) has theorised the connection between system-level variables and sub-systemic factors in cross-national research. System-level variables are independent (in this analysis, the main system-level unit of analysis has been that of the global system rather than national ones) System-level variables influence subsystemic phenomena; lower-level relationships are conditional upon systemic frameworks. However, the relationship between system and subsystem cannot

be a one way one and some duality exists allowing for the influence of subsystemic phenomena such as the higher education system or the political system of a given entity.

In the context of Archer's discussion of differences between centralised and decentralised educational systems it is suggested that

structural conditioning continues to shape interaction in different ways in the two systems; interaction itself still follows two distinctive patterns, and the structural elaboration that results reconfirms the differences that caused one to distinguish [between the two systems] in the first place. (Archer, 1989, 261)

She then goes on to argue that structural conditioning is always a mediated process and that failure to acknowledge this will reimmerge educational analysis in the very epiphenomenalism from which it is still being extricated. This thesis has attempted to avoid the epiphenomenalist trap by paying close attention to the institutional level of international education activity, thus offering an insight into the ways in which local manifestations of international and national changes are mediated. Such a level of analysis illuminated the *mechanism* by which the two levels of explanation are brought together.

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CoE - Council of Europe

D-EG - Deutsch-Englischen Gesellschaft

EPWD - European Parliament Working Document

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## APPENDIX ONE

### CASE STUDY SOURCES (Interviews and Documentation)

#### I. U.K. University

##### Interviews

Principal..... April 4th 1989  
ERASMUS Coordinator/Assistant Principal..... March 22nd 1989  
Departmental Administrator # 1..... March 6th 1990  
Departmental Administrator #2..... March 22nd 1989  
Vice-Principal..... April 6th 1989

##### Documentation

- UKUDOC 1 - THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE XXXX DEGREE, undated document from XXX Department Archives, 8pp.
- UKUDOC 2 - THE EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES OF THE XXXX DEGREE, undated doc, 3pp
- UKUDOC 3 - THE JSP IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH XXXX, [...] AND UNIVERSITE DE [...], undated doc, 3pp
- UKUDOC 4 - Faculty of XXXX Departmental Board Meeting Minutes, June 18 1975, 3pp.
- UKUDOC 5 - Faculty of XXXX Departmental Staff Meeting Minutes, March 1st 1976, 4pp
- UKUDOC 6 - Departmental Staff Meeting Minutes, March 15th 1976, pp 4
- UKUDOC 7 - Faculty of XXXX Board Meeting Minutes, May 17th 1976, pp.2
- UKUDOC 8 - Departmental Staff Meeting Minutes, Dec.5th 1977, pp. 3
- UKUDOC 9 - FACULTY OF XXXX DECENNIAL PROJECTION 1974-1984 AND QUINQUENNIAL PROPOSALS 1974-1979, November 20th 1974, 7pp.
- UKUDOC 10 - Université de [...], Convention du 15 février entre le Secretariat d'Etat aux Universités et l'Université de [...]: Maitrise en xxxxx, Français et Anglais." March 1977, pp. 7
- UKUDOC 11a- Université de [...] - "Réunion du 24 septembre 1979; groupe Maitrise double"
- UKUDOC 11b- Minutes of Meeting in Paris to discuss Anglo-French XXXX degree, September 24th 1979, pp.7
- UKUDOC 12 - University of London Instructions to Examiners

for Part I and Part II Examinations for the  
XXXX Degree, November 1976

- UKUDOC 13 - Report of a meeting between Prof. X of [...] and  
Y of [...], August 12, 1981, pp. 2
- UKUDOC 14 - Minutes of the Meeting of Joint Degree Students,  
November 7th 1983, pp. 3
- UKUDOC 15 - Minutes of the Anglo-French Degree Committee  
Meeting of January 19th 1988.
- UKUDOC 16 - Minutes of the Anglo-French Degree Committee  
Meeting of February 9th 1988
- UKUDOC 17 - Minutes of the Anglo-French Degree Committee  
Meeting of May 8th 1988
- UKUDOC 18 - University Prospectus

## II. U.K. Polytechnic

### Interviews

Director.....	May 8th 1989
Course Head, B.Tec. Engineering.....	June 22nd 1990
Head of Externally Funded Courses.....	June 22nd 1990
Course Head, Economics.....	June 19th 1990
Course Director, XXX Degree.....	June 12th 1990
Dean, Faculty of Art & Design.....	June 19th 1990
Faculty Coordinator for Europe.....	June 17th 1990
Head of Academic Development.....	June 17th 1990

### Documentation

- UKPDOC 1 - [...] Polytechnic Action Plan: Implementing the  
Corporate Plan 1989 - 1992, 22 pp. 1989
- UKPDOC 2 - B.A. Hons. in European XXXX, Joint Degree  
Programme with the Université de [...]:  
Planning Document, 12 pp., n.d.
- UKPDOC 3 - Courses for Careers in Europe, [...] Poly-  
technic, 1990, pp. 24
- UKPDOC 4 - Letter from X to Faculty colleagues, July 5th  
1990, pp.3.
- UKPDOC 5 - Departmental Newsletter from School of Business  
Summer 1990, pp. 4.
- UKPDOCS 6-7 Polytechnic Prospectus, 1988-9; 1989-90

### III. U.S. College

#### Interviews

President..... June 12th 1989  
Grant Co-director #1..... June 12th/13th 1989  
Grant Co-director #2..... June 12th/13th 1989  
Academic Vice President..... June 13th 1989  
Center Director..... June 12th 1989  
Director, Telecommunications Center..... June 14th 1989  
Coordinator, Cooperative Education..... June 14th 1989  
Dean, School of Business..... June 12th 1989

#### Documentation

USCDOC 1 - The [...] College Catalog, 1987-89, 178pp., 1987  
USCDOC 2 - Update: News from [...] College, Fall 1989, 4pp.  
USCDOC 3 - [...] College Bulletin December 1989, 4pp.  
USCDOC 4 - A Window on the World: [...] and the ... Grant, 4 pp., n.d.  
USCDOC 5 - Toward Global and Multicultural Literacy: Education for the 21st century. (The [...] College Proposal in response to the Governor's Challenge to the State Colleges), 135 pp. plus Appendices, 1986 (?)  
USCDOCS 6-10 Annual Interim Reports on the Grant Award  
USCDOCS 11-13 Presidential addresses to various Conferences 1988-89.  
USCDOCS 14-16 Challenge (Newsletter of the International and Multicultural Curriculum Development Committee) February and October 1988; February and Oct 1989.  
USCDOC 17 - Evaluation Report on the xxx Grant to the State of ... Higher Education Department, New York, 1989, 37 pp.

### IV. US University

#### Interviews

Associate Provost and Director of International Office..... June 8th 1989  
Assistant Director, IO..... June 8th/10th 1989  
Associate Director, Program Dvlpt. (IO)..... June 9th 1989  
Director, Center for International Education..... June 9th 1989  
Dean of the Faculty..... June 9th 1989

Dean, College of Engineering..... June 10th 1989  
 Chairman, Dept of Chemistry..... June 10th 1989  
 Chairman, Dept. of History..... June 9th 1989

# Documentation

USUDOC 1 - A Study of International Involvement at the  
 University of [...]. A Report of the IO, 1988.  
 USUDOC 2 - [...] Factbook 1987-88  
 USUDOC 3 - Correspondence and Protocol of Exchange Agree-  
 ment between [...] and the University of [...] (England)

## V. Other interviews completed outside case study institut- tions

President, American Forum.....New York, June 12th 1989

Deputy Director, Council for International  
 Education and Exchange.....New York, June 12th 1989

Program Director, Center for International  
 Education, US Department of Education.....  
 ..... Washington, D.C., June 15th 1989

Director, International Education Services,  
 University of Maryland, College Park and  
 NAFSA President 1988-89.....London, March 9th 1989  
 ..... and Washington, D.C., June 16th 1989

Director, Center for International Programs,  
 Ball State University and NAFSA President  
 1990-91..... London, March 2nd 1991

Deputy Director, NAFSA, Washington, D.C.,.... June 15th 1989

London Program Director, Boston University,  
 ..... London, June 6th 1990

UK Programmes Director, American Institute  
 for Foreign Study.....London, March 22nd 1989

Jean Monnet's Chef du Cabinet 1962 - 1968  
 ..... London, January 2nd 1990



## APPENDIX II

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Respondents were contacted in advance by telephone and letter. Having indicated a willingness to be interviewed, they were sent copies of the Synopsis and Interview Guidelines document, reproduced below:

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#### Synopsis

Title: Commitment to International Education: Structural Influences and Actors' Perceptions of International Education in the USA and the European Community: Four Case Studies

The thesis explores reasons for differences in the discourse, delivery and character of tertiary-level international education in the European Community and the United States of America since the mid-1970s. A twin-track approach is adopted in order to explain how and why different varieties of international education develop in order to accomplish differing objectives.

The purpose of the thesis is to explore the extent to which differences between the models and practices associated with European Community and US international education can be explained with reference to such institutional and organisational factors as the innovative activities of key individuals, or by 'reading off' from macro-level structural and systemic analysis.

The initial approach used is based on a macro-sociological structural perspective which delineates the overall historical, cultural and institutional context within which international education was defined and has developed unique characteristics within the two areas concerned. This will illuminate the methods and themes of public advocacy used to promote and justify international education.

The second line of investigation uses case studies to focus on the institutional level of international education discourse and practice. How are institutional and individual rationales deployed in mobilising college resources towards increasing the supply of international education? Is there a homology between actors' accounts of institutional activity and macro-level structuration?

The case study institutions have in part been chosen for the distinctiveness of their stance and commitment to international education.

#### Interview Guidelines

The function that the case study institutions serve is to provide empirical evidence within the structure-agency problematic. In other words, to provide material for or against the contention that, at its institutional point of delivery, international education is consciously determined

by structural and systemic influences, and the extent to which key actors in educational institutions are aware of and responsive to these influences in the course of making decisions to provide increased amounts of international education.

By examining tertiary-level institutions with a clear commitment to international education in the US system, and UK institutions with well-established links, through EC sponsored schemes, to other European institutions, the extent to which differences in international education are attributable to systemic imperatives, institutional needs, the characteristics of individual academic disciplines or the idiosyncracies of individual careers may be assessed.

The objective of the interviews is to listen to what programme managers and initiators have to say, to look more closely at the internal dynamics of international education activities, and to determine the frequency and extent to which certain rationales and justifications are advanced to account for the growth of this aspect of institutional activity.

Interviews will last between half an hour and one hour and will be taped - with the respondent's permission - for the purposes of transcription. Both institutions and respondents will remain anonymous.

Contact: Peter Leuner

Part-time M.Phil/Ph.D. research student

(Supervisor: Professor Guy Neave)

Department of International & Comparative Education

Institute of Education

University of London

Current post: Chairman,

Division of Social Sciences

Richmond College

Queen's Road

Richmond, Surrey TW10 6JP

940 9762

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The interviews were based on open-ended questions roughly categorised into "external" and "internal" categories as follows:

#### EXTERNAL

a) macro-structural influences reflected in public discourse and advocacy. Non-educational background factors (strategic and economic, commercial, political, technological, etc.), which set the parameters within which institutions operate. Extent to which these factors were acknowledged/cited.

b) Relevant features of the educational system within

which the institution operates.

c) Market and client-oriented considerations which impinge directly upon institutions and their policy options.

d) Existence, availability and accessibility of external enabling and facilitating agencies. How/with whom does the institution interact in order to promote, expand and safeguard international education activities? Assessment of the relative importance of such links.

#### INTERNAL

a) Structural characteristics and ethos of the institution itself.

b) Perceptions of key institutional and Administrative Unit actors regarding initial institutional activity in this area. Their perception of threats and opportunities, anticipation of future demands, etc.

c) Status and enrollment considerations; nature of 'clientele'.

d) Detailed accounts of the impact of international education as a programme innovation and the growth of institutional commitment to international education. Arguments used to sustain the programmes after their establishment; identification of sources of support and opposition within the institution.

f) Probe for acknowledgement/denial of role played by external agencies.

### APPENDIX III

#### EUROPEAN NATIONAL TRADITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION.

To guard against the impression that the only noteworthy international education practice in Europe was stimulated by regional integration and fostered by the EC, this Appendix outlines aspects of parallel national traditions in the field. In keeping with the focus of the main body of the thesis, the student mobility form of national traditions of international education is concentrated upon.

The emphasis will be on the UK, though French and German experience (as the two most popular European host countries) will be incorporated. In each case, the orientation, functions and agencies involved in national international education practice will be addressed. The Appendix concludes with a consideration of the impact of EC international education on previously established national traditions.

Prior to the analysis of each country, Western Europe can be seen to share certain characteristics. Many of the major nations retain strong links with their ex-colonial territories and provide education and training services in the context of human resource and infrastructural development policies. Viewed from a Third World perspective, Western education is perceived as dominant and desirable. Home country education, even where it is modelled on the coloniser's pattern, is often seen as second best. Strenuous efforts are therefore made to study either in the USA or the erstwhile European metropole since this will result in advantageous access to higher status positions (Goodman, 1984). This motif provides a major element behind the inbound flow to West European countries.

Most West European nations acknowledge the cultural diplomacy element inherent in international education, and some are quite explicit regarding its role in consolidating and expanding linguistic communities. Economic and commercial rationales at both national and higher education sector level are usually to be found (though this varies according to whether the nation in question has adopted a full fees policy for foreign students - e.g. the UK, Eire - or still provides heavily subsidised access - e.g. France and Germany). Beyond such realist and nationalist orientations lies the "purely academic" rationale, that of the international community of learning based on cooperation in scholarship and facilitation of faculty and student mobility. In addition, Europe remains the most popular destination for US Study Abroad programmes (1).

In the early 1970s in Western Europe as a whole (the period with which the Chapter Four, Part Three is primarily concerned as the formative element in EC policies), an average 6% of university students came from overseas (5.8% in France and Germany, 7.3% in the UK), (Klineberg, 22). It should also be mentioned at this juncture that in almost all cases the number of inbound students to European countries (excluding intra-EC flows) vastly exceeds the number of outbound student nationals.

## United Kingdom

The importance of international education (mainly perceived in terms of UK universities as host institutions) has long been recognised, but rarely been presented in terms of a coordinated field of political, diplomatic, cultural or educational policy.

International education was traditionally seen as linked to Britain's ex-colonial Commonwealth legacy, but the country's universities were also a favoured destination for US visiting students by virtue of shared language and cultural roots. In 1970 at the University of Sussex, for example, foreign students accounted for 5.6% of undergraduate enrolment (19.5% of graduate), 18% from Commonwealth countries, 15% from N. America and the remainder from the Middle East and S. America (Klineberg, 192). In certain courses at Imperial College in the early 1970s, 22% of enrollments were from overseas students, rising to as high as 44% in some postgraduate courses.

The trend reports on British international student flows show a postwar increase, especially from Commonwealth countries, to a level of approximately 12% in the early 1960s. The proportion declined during the decade, mainly due to the expansion of university places for domestic students. Most foreign students at that time came from former colonies in Asia and Africa, with the next largest groups coming from Europe and the US. By the late 1980s overseas students comprised approximately 10% of the total full-time enrolment in publicly funded higher education with the top three sending countries being Hong Kong, Malaysia and the US (Callan & Steele, 1991). The overall figures, however, mask changes in the proportions coming from different origins: the numbers coming from Commonwealth and developing countries have remained relatively static since the early 1980s, while the greatest increase has been in students coming from EC and OECD countries.

The full cost fees issue of the late 1970s and early 1980s prompted both a temporary decline of 36% in the overall numbers of foreign students and a flurry of activity involving such agencies as the Overseas Student Trust (OST), the United Kingdom Council on Overseas Student Affairs (UKCOSA), the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), the British Council, the Overseas Development Agency (ODA) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), but rarely the Department of Education and Science. A concerted effort to stress the cultural and commercial significance of overseas students led to the formulation of the "Pym package" which, in line with specific British priorities, targeted £46m of support on the poorest nations over a three year period.

Sir Francis Pym declared:

overseas students are good for our universities to the point of being essential. They are certainly good for British students. They are good for Britain economically and commercially and for her relations with other countries (OST, 1987, x).

In an attempt to introduce a measure of coordination into the field, an Inter-Departmental Group (FCO, DES, ODA, British Council

and Home Office) "now meets to coordinate and review policy issues on overseas students; broader consultative machinery exists in the form of a Round Table which meets intermittently for discussion between IDG members and non-Governmental bodies," Callan & Steele, 13).

In addition to the NGOs which focused on the policies and practice of British international education, there are also private foundations, such as Leverhulme and Nuffield, who are active in their financial support of overseas students. Commercial interest in the value-added aspect of international education is attested to by the activity of such corporations as BAT, Shell and ICI who set up the OST in 1961 in recognition of the connection between the foreign study experience and the subsequent trade and commercial returns visible in export markets. By the early 1990s, the overseas student question was frequently viewed through the perspective of a net economic gain to the country as well as to specific universities.

Prior to the EC schemes addressed in the main body of the thesis, Britain's patterns of international education can be seen as resulting from uncoordinated sub-sections of post-colonial policy, the national interest in cultural and linguistic promotion, aid policy, financial exigencies (at both national and institutional levels), patterns of inter-varsity cooperation and concepts revolving round the benefit of international elements to indigenous undergraduate education. Once the decision had been taken to follow a full-cost tuition policy, commentators have suggested the British agenda has become dominated by concerns of competition, value-for-money, 'customer' care and quality control (OST, 1992, Callan & Steele, 1991). This contrasts with the more academic concerns that continue to dominate the French and German patterns of international education that remain less affected by commercial considerations.

## FRANCE

France has the largest number of foreign students in the EC, and ranks second only to the US in the world in this regard (Callan & Steele). France has traditionally maintained a cosmopolitan and open policy based on equality of access for home and overseas students and free tuition for both categories. The French Government has clear policies in the area, with responsibility shared between the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry for Education. The stated rationales of this policy are couched in terms of trade and aid, diplomatic and cultural objectives, and educational development and cooperation within the francophone area. French objectives are couched in terms of a calculated State investment in the education of francophone students in metropolitan France (Klineberg, 21).

The French Government awards 25,000 scholarships for overseas students annually. Overseas students costs are subsidised by approximately 8 billion francs annually. One in seven (non-EC) foreign students at French universities is in receipt of Foreign Ministry or aid maintenance grants (OST, 1992).

In some French universities at the turn of the century, up

to 22% of total student numbers came from overseas, often from Russia and E. Europe. By the late 1980s, francophone Africa and the Maghreb accounted for the largest groups of foreign students at French universities, now accounting for 12.5 % of total enrolment. The top four sending countries are Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Cameroun.

## GERMANY

The German view of international education is to see it in terms of "general education, the diffusion of knowledge across national boundaries, and international understanding," (Klingberg, 20). The formal principles underlying federal policy are:

international activities contribute to the quality of research and academic study. In addition... they have strong political and economic impacts in that they foster communication and mutual understanding across national frontiers, shape the image of the FRG abroad [which is important] in view of the highly export-dependent economy of the FRG. (Callan & Steele, 7, citing Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft statement, Bonn, 1990).

Although the federal government plays a prominent role, responsibility is shared with the eleven Lander Governments as well as such quasi-official bodies as the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch-Dienst (DAAD). Tuition is free for both home and overseas students, and approximately 5000 scholarships per annum are available. Special preparatory colleges (Studienkollegen) are provided to enable overseas students to enter university courses with minimum difficulty.

As far back as the mid-19th century, 6% of the students at German universities were foreign, the largest group coming from the US (Klineberg, 23). After World War II the numbers of foreign students in German universities again rose, with 6-8% of university places in such subjects as medicine, architecture and chemistry reserved for non-EC foreign students (Smith, 1984, 116; OST, 1992, 69)). West Germany attracted most of its overseas students from the Middle East, whereas East Germany catered to the demand from other communist regimes both in Europe and further afield. In 1988, 6.2% of German enrolments were from overseas, placing it 2nd in the EC and 4th in the world. There is an expressed desire to raise the proportion of foreign students to 10% of the total. The top five sending countries in 1988 were Turkey, Iran, Greece, Austria and the USA. A very high proportion of Germany's outbound students go to the neighbouring German-speaking Austria and Switzerland.

## CONCLUSION

Taking these different national idioms of undergraduate-level international education into account has meant that it is possible to perceive that a disadvantage resulting from too insistent a focus on intra-European integration has been the neglect of the substantial (in terms of numbers and finances) wider global connections of the constituent nations. In fact, as

has been argued recently (Tranholm-Mikkelsen, 1991; Kennedy, 1993), while Europe has been absorbed in its own internal project it has ignored the strength of outside forces. Hence the fear that European international education would grow at the expense of earlier patterns that had resulted in productive links between European and non-European. Nevertheless, as Klineberg observed, many of the existing bi- or multi-lateral and inter-institutional agreements on mobility did "not function as actively as desired, or existed on paper only," (p.53).

Contributions to the Klineberg and Barber, Altbach & Myers collections point to the uncoordinated state of international education policy and practice in the various nations examined. Though Germany and France have a greater degree of policy cohesion than many other countries, it has been suggested that the lack of coordination and communication at every level (within universities themselves as well as at national level) acts as a major constraint on the development of more effective mobility. Although the material outlined above testifies to the existence of active non-EC traditions of international education, the uniqueness of EC activity in the field lies in its being tied to a Europe-wide sense of cultural, economic and political identity. This does not imply that one tradition will eclipse the other; intra-European and into-Europe mobility are not mutually exclusive (though there are fears that this may indeed be so), but they may complement each other. TEMPUS, FIPSE (US Department of Education), and Lomé convention-related developments in EC international education may indicate that the dangers of a Eurocentrist trend are recognised by the EC.

#### Footnote

This raises the point that the classification of "overseas/foreign student" is not a clear-cut one. Foreign student inflow figures may or may not distinguish between visiting students and those completing entire courses leading to qualifications. Even the classification "student" raises difficulties in countries such as France.